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Selections.

SPEECH OF HON. D. S. DICKINSON, OF NEW YORK,

IN THE UNITED STATES SENATE.

[The supply of gas having failed, and the Senate chamber having thus been left in darkness, until candles were brought in, and thereupon,] some conversation having occurred in regard to the propriety of proceeding with the debate:

Mr. Dickinson rose and said—As it seems to be the sense of the Senate that I shall proceed, I crave its indulgence while I proceed to explain my views with as much brevity as I can, in order that I may place myself right before the country. It is not six months since the Senate passed a bill organising a territorial government for California and New Mexico. The bill was passed after a very full debate, and was sent to the popular branch; and to this day we are not informed officially what has been done with it. If I were to follow my own inclination in this matter, I would make no new enactment, and let the responsibility rest where it ought to rest—upon the popular branch of Congress, for not having passed that bill, and not endeavour, by offering amendment after amendment to other bills, to supply the deficiency which is occasioned by the neglect of the House. The state of the territory demands action, however; and the particular proposition which is now before us has been considered by a committee, and must be disposed of. It is much easier, sir, to object to these propositions, than to offer others, that can be offered with any prospect of success. I did not intend to address the Senate on this subject, and I would not, had it not been for my colleague taking a certain position, which, I think, of an extraordinary character. In order that we may comprehend the past, it may not be amiss to look at the history of the past. History informs us that when we were in a state of colonial servitude, great difficulties arose between this country and the mother country, because that country insisted on the right to rule over us. It gave rise to the Revolution, and the Revolution ended by this country being declared free and independent States. Slavery existed in all the States, and was then, as now, an element of discord and controversy. And one of these States had no more right to interfere with the institutions of France, Great Britain, or any other foreign country. Standing in this position, the Union was formed for general purposes; for common defence; for the general welfare; but they still remained sovereign States, and independent, and so remain at this day, no matter what their institutions. We have progressed on from thirteen colonies to thirty free and independent States; and from three to twenty millions of free and independent citizens. And yet there are men who can see nothing good in our free institutions, because Mordecai sits at the King's gate; and a dissolution of the Union is called for, because some of the States have institutions which others disapprove. I am told it is only the fanatics who cry out against the institutions of some of the States. It is time that we should analyse the matter, and bring it to the touchstone of truth; and see if all things are not tending in that direction.

Our fathers, sir, formed this great and glorious confederacy, notwithstanding Slavery. They saw it was better to have Slavery with union, than Slavery without confederacy. And we have gone on prosperously. The tree of liberty, which was planted in our midst, has afforded shade and shelter and protection to all. It invited all to come and repose under its branches. But there are those who maintain, that the destruction of the institutions of the South, though it dissevered the Union, would be a commendable work. [Here the Senator was not distinctly heard.] The youth who fired the Ephesian dome, outlived him who raised it.

There is an effort to set the South against the North, for injuries real or supposed. I deny, sir, here in my place, upon the responsibility of an American Senator, that any great mass of the people sympathise with, or participate in this feeling. It is not so. They stand upon the great principles where their fathers stood. They stand where the fathers of the constitution placed us. I know that combinations and factions have been raised up; and I know that venal politicians have yielded to the cry of "Lo, here, and lo! there!" But I know in my heart, that the great mass of the people are sound on this subject. Sir, they stand where their fathers stood.

In regard to this particular measure, it is a measure, I admit, that can only be justified by a great and imperious necessity; and I believe the necessity exists; and that the Senator who brought in this amendment acts up to the necessities of the country. It comes well from the locality of the northwest. It comes well from that young State, which has just been admitted into the family of States.

Sir, my colleague has taken various exceptions to this bill; and one of them, particularly, to giving to the Executive the strong arm of executive power. I should consider, with him, under ordinary circumstances, that it would be well to circumscribe executive power. But, sir, extraordinary circumstances exist; whether produced by wise or unwise measures, or whether they could have been averted, I will not undertake to inquire. It is enough for me that this exigency exists, and that we have but three days more in which to close up the business of the session. And this being the case, it behoves us to consider in what condition we are placed. We have taken to our arms this territory, by a treaty of peace, without any government whatever. A bill was passed last year, that clothed the executive with no extraordinary power; and yet my colleague was opposed to that bill. Sir, the power that is given in this case, was substantially given heretofore, in the case of Florida and Louisiana. It does strengthen the executive arm; and there is occasion for it. But it gives no more power, when you come to investigate it, than Florida and Louisiana had; and the power there was continued longer. It was continued for a period of five years. The constitution, I am reminded, was not extended to Florida and Louisiana.—The executive, therefore, had not so much power. But this is, in my opinion, I say it with respect, entirely secondary to the objections that are brought against this measure. I have the act before me.—But as I intend to hurry through my remarks, out of respect to the lateness of the hour, I will not detain the Senate by reading it. My colleague objects strongly to giving the executive so much power, in regard to these territories: and yet he tells you that the inhabitants there cannot read nor write the English language; that they are in a state of semi-civilization; and he describes them as a class of people who are unfitted to enjoy self-government; and he tells you that persons of all countries and grades are there; and that the bonds of society are literally dissolved. He has drawn a picture which utterly defeats the proposition that we are giving too much power to the executive. What would my colleague do? He objects to the arm of the executive being strengthened; and yet he tells you that the inhabitants are not qualified to participate in self-government, either of a permanent or temporary character. What would he do? Would he refuse them the privilege of electing the members of a local legislature? Would he not allow them to exercise the functions that belongs to democratic legislation? And, sir, if the permanent and transient inhabitants of the territory are of this description, and not worthy of a territorial government, why pass a territorial bill for such a people, who can neither read nor speak the English language: for a people in a state of semi-civilization? Sir, if my colleague had pondered this argument for years, he could not have brought a stronger argument than he has done, in favour of giving to the executive the power that is proposed to be given to him. He tells us that society in these territories is made up of deserters from the army and navy; of soldiers who have deserted the ranks, and sailors who have deserted their ships, and gone to gold digging. "They have not yet belonged to the United States for nine months," said my colleague. Is that any reason why they should not have a strong government there? why the executive should not have plenary power? Not at all. But, on the contrary, it is an argument why they should have a government. But my colleague says that the proposition, which has already been voted upon, for giving a government to California, received but four votes in this body. My colleague thought proper to exhume, and to subject to a *post mortem* examination, a bill which had gone to the tomb of the Capulets, and brought it back in all its offensiveness of detail. And I must confess that I am so well satisfied with the arguments of my colleague upon that bill, that I will not undertake to refute them. It will be time enough for me to discuss that bill when it comes before us. I cannot, myself, discuss a measure which is not before us. My colleague took occasion to state that these people in New Mexico and California—he says, they should undergo fermentation before coming into the Union—and he tells us that the ordinance of 1787 very properly comprehended people of all colours, and enabled them to perform all the functions of good citizens. Sir, my colleague complains that that bill dismembered, or rather merged New Mexico and California; that might have been a good reason against that bill; but it is not a good reason against this. It authorised the President to take possession of them, and gave to him extraordinary powers; and although they are extraordinary, yet extraordinary is the occasion. Sir, I will not trouble the Senate with any remarks as to my confidence in the incoming chief-magistrate. It is enough for me, on this occasion, before God and man, to know that I have never rendered him injustice in thought, word or deed. He must judge of me by my public conduct, and I will judge of him by his public conduct. But, sir, he is the President of the United States, or will soon be. He is to fill, in the face of the world, an office to which he has been called by the American people; and I will not hesitate to entrust him, for a few brief months, with the power that is proposed to be placed in his hands, for the purpose of preventing anarchy, crime, bloodshed, in the territories of California and New Mexico.

My colleague says that he would not parcel out these territories, as Austria and other powers of Europe have done with regard to Poland. Nor will I. Is there any such thing proposed in this amendment, or in that bill for which myself and others have voted? Nothing of the kind. No, sir, I will not parcel out these territories as the great powers of Europe did Poland; nor extend the taskmaster over them, as Great Britain over her colonies. I will not undertake to legislate for them, and to throw in their teeth the many complaints that we made against the mother country. Sir, have we forgotten our loud complaints when Great Britain claimed the right to legislate for us? and now, when we are organising a government for these people, shall we claim the right to legislate for them? Shall we treat them as did the man who took his debtor by the throat, saying, "*pay me that thou owest?*" I will not put them in the condition in which we were when we were struggling against the gigantic power of England. He says that the objection to ruling the country will be the hostility which they will manifest. And so say I. In that remark of my colleague, I fully concur. No one proposes, in the bill here, to humiliate the people, by placing them under subjection. If it were otherwise, I should be bound to raise my humble voice against it. Does this propose humiliation? No, sir. It proposes to authorise the President to institute a temporary government there. It only goes to this extent, as it is well known we can get no more than this. My colleague tells us he is in favour of a territorial government. So am I; so is the Senate; and so is the country. We must act according to circumstances. If we do not create those circumstances, we must act as circumstances direct. Now, my colleague has given the outline of a government to be given to the people, and he tells us he is not a free agent in it. Therein my colleague differs from me. I belong to a school that takes the responsibility. Being a free agent, I take it, well knowing what the responsibilities are. I understand my position, and my duties altogether too well, to enter into discussion, whether I shall obey the legislature of my State or not; because there is no one here who dares to say, "why do you so?" When I am put before the proper forum, I care not who throws down the gauntlet.—When it comes to the proper time for me to show what gives rise to these dictations; whether they are the production of accident; whether they are the expression of majorities or minorities, I shall be prepared to speak of them. But they belong not here. And I shall not permit them to enter into anything which I have to say. I shall take no dictation to myself for obeying, for I belong to those who know their rights, and knowing, dare maintain them. To those who have a right to call me to account, and to no other tribunal, will I answer. My colleague, in giving us a form of government—to pass along as rapidly as possible, without misrepresenting him—brought many things to bear which I do not deny. I will only allude to it so far as to show that I deem it unnecessary; that there is no occasion for the government which my colleague has so elaborately described; and without going further into details, I will come to this point. My colleague tells us that he would have the ordinance of 1787 extended over the territories. That, (if I understand my colleague aright,) he would make a kind of Aaron's rod, to swallow up all other considerations in this territorial government. Now, on the subject of this ordinance of 1787, I have to say without going into the details of its history, that I am unable to see what possible application it has to our present condition. My colleague tells us that it was drafted by Mr. Jefferson. Suppose it was. Suppose it were in the language of scripture itself, does it throw any light on this matter?

My colleague tells us, that there was hesitation in forming the confederation. Does my colleague seek to drag us back from Union to confederacy? to go back to the time when we had no constitution; and hunt among the dim lights of that day for something by which to steer the ship of state? Why then does he attempt to go back, and bring out from the tombs this ordinance of 1787 and clothe it with sinews, and make it perform the functions of government here? Sir, we now live under a constitution; and have made the States, in their sovereign capacity, carry on their functions of government, under that charter under which we live. Why then go back to a former age, and undertake to revive the ordinance of 1787? My colleague undertakes the priestly act of baptising it the Jefferson proviso. Sir, is not my colleague aware that he has done great injustice? He is a man of marked justice; and I am sure he will take the earliest opportunity of doing justice in this case; and restore the title to him who gave up all that it might bear his name. Mark Antony gave up all for woman. So did Wilmot give up all for the honour of giving his name to this proviso. And will my colleague take it away from him? That illustrious individual might say, with a slight variation—he "who steals my money, steals trash; but he who steals my good name, robs me of that which not enriches him, and makes me poor indeed." And, sir, why was the illustrious Jefferson alluded to? If he could be called up here, he would say, as the prophet Samuel said when he was brought up by the incantations of the Witch of Endor—"Why hast thou disquieted me, to bring me up?" Was it that he might help him out of trouble, with the ordinance of 1787? I do not know how to account for it otherwise. Sir, we are told by my colleagues, and those with whom he acts, that it is not their purpose to interfere with Slavery in the States. Pray, how much merit do they take to themselves for that? Why did they not tell us that they would not interfere with the manufactories of Massachusetts, or with the banking system of Illinois.

A Senator.—There is none there.

Mr. Dickenson.—Or any other State; or with the metropolis in England; or with the present government in France? Why should they claim any credit for such forbearance? Who does not know that it is a sanctioned system of traffic? I desire to have this illusion dispelled; to illustrate as a class—I speak (of them) as a class, an organisation, a party, who do not propose to interfere with Slavery in the States. Why refer to it, then? No one, I suppose, proposes to interfere with that which does not belong to us. Is it a sugar-coated pill, that we are to be made to swallow? Sir, the great mass of the people, so far as I know or believe, at the North, hold Slavery to be an evil; and, as my colleague has well said, they know it was fastened upon this people, without their consent or volition And they, having abolished Slavery themselves, they are willing to leave it to the States that have the institution to dispose of it. Sir, they believe its benefits, advantages, or disadvantages, all kinds of of evil that flow from it, belong to the States where it exists. They believe that the responsibility, here and hereafter, belongs to the people of the States where it exists, and not to them. They do not participate in the benefits; and they are not willing to share the responsibilities. They are willing to leave it to the people where it exists. Having disposed of it themselves, they believe that is the best disposition of it, under the guidance of a wise Providence. For—

"There is a Providence that shapes our ends,
Rough-hew them how we will."

Sir, the people of the north have no desire to interfere. They do not wish to commence the system of abolishing Slavery in this District, though they hold the opinion that it is lawful—constitutional rather—to abolish it in the District. They do not wish to keep a continued guerrilla warfare by passing laws inviting fugitive slaves to come hither. They read in the constitution that the slaves that come to their territory are to be given up, in good faith too, to be subjected to the local laws and institutions of the States where they are to go. And he who reads aright the constitution of the United States, will see that he has no more right to harbour fugitive slaves than fugitives from justice; and any State which undertakes to get around the constitution, violates it in the sight of man and in the sight of God. The people of the north want not this institution among them, in any shape or form. They abolished it, thinking it an evil. They wish others to do the same. But they want not to war upon it in this form, to swell the number of vagabonds, by increasing the number of fugitive slaves, What benefit or advantage can rise up from such a system? Can you raise up that unfortunate race? No, sir. What then can you do by agitating it at the North, or by the abolition of Slavery in this District, or by inviting fugitive slaves? Sir, you will only get a few more vagabonds. But they want not inmates for their poor houses. And when, from a long state of pupilage, the slaves arrive at a state of self-dependence, they want them not to enter into competition with the free labourer of the North, even though they believe them to be even as wise and as good as themselves. Sir, the North has not forgotten that slaveholding State of hers, nor the ordinance of 1787; and she looks forward to the day when she shall see Slavery abolished in the States. She sees that too such races of men cannot exist together in equality; and there lies the whole matter. Whether you call it Slavery or not, there is and must be inequality. One race will be inferior. You cannot raise them up, though you can degrade yourselves. And even then the two races are physically dissimilar, as is shown by their developements. They are designed by the Almighty to be two, and there are two curses: one put on the head of him who undertakes to sever those whom God has united, and an equal anathema upon him who undertakes to unite those whom God has severed. I would there were no such thing as Slavery; but I am willing that this thing should run its course. I see, and every reflecting man must see, that it will not be disposed of in a day, or a year, or by the legislation of Congress. It must work out its accustomed course. I do not undertake to say when that will be, but I can say that for every slave that goes South, there is one less at the North. (Here a sentence was indistinctly heard.)

The people of the North do not, in my opinion—I speak on my responsibility and of those sending me here, and who act with me—the great body of the people in the Free States do not desire (the extinction of the) coloured race. No, sir, in no case do they wish to see barrenness, impotency, and death destroy a race created in the image of their maker. They do not wish to place restrictions upon a law of Heaven, and to prevent the increase of a race of men because they are dark; to confine the injunction of the Almighty, to be fruitful and replenish the earth, to the white race alone. Sir, that is placing a proviso on the free laws of Heaven.

Sir, I am aware that of all who undertake to stand upon the principles of the constitution, it is said—"Ah! you're sold to the South." "You are justifying Slavery!" Sir, I defy all these denunciations. Sir, I see this great and happy country, with such institutions as man never saw before;—and I fear that when this is lost it will never look upon it again; and I do not assume to be wiser, or more benevolent than the fathers of the government; theirs was the standard. Sir, did they tremble and quake? No, sir, they took things as they were, when they formed this confederacy. I am not one of those who fear the dissolution of this Union, in fact: but I fear what is worse—a dissolution in spirit. I fear to see one section arrayed against another section; one section crying out the "North," and another section crying out the "South." I fear to see them arrayed against each other; but I have no fear lest the slaves should go from Maryland to California, for it comes to that, and that is all there is of it. Sir, what renders the Union sanctioned by Heaven—what lies at the foundation of our institutions—is the marriage contract. It is not more valuable because they live in the bonds of matrimony. It is valuable because it answers the end which Heaven ordained—because it fulfils its brief and beautiful calling; but when it departs from that, and becomes a bye word and reproach, when literally set on fire of hell, it is better dissolved. What makes this Union valuable? Not because the States are bound together in bonds of adamant. No, but because they have come together in a happy spirit; they thus become a blessed example, which is set on a hill and cannot be hid. But dissolve it—tear it asunder—crash it into fragments, and then where will be the principles of liberty? Sir, like the dove that returned from coursing over the wild waste of waters, finding no rest for the sole of its foot, fluttering against the windows of the ark for admission to the bosom of its father and its God. If we reject such institutions as these, shall Heaven vouchsafe them again to man? Sir, I fear not. There is no narrow, sectional policy. It is God governs this matter. While I stand here as a Senator, neither my voice nor my vote shall be given for anything that shall lead to it in the remotest degree.

Sir, I have not attempted to legislate for the territories since I have been here, but when the boundless figure of agitation has been thrown across my pathway; and it was a relief to me when I heard my colleague oppose the bill on the ground of the extraordinary power given to the Executive; for I had heard so long the ungrateful noise grating in my ears, that I could say, in the language of Macbeth, "take any other shape but that," and I shall be content. But, to come back to the old doctrine of the ordinance of 1787; whenever it is ascertained that a sufficient number of American people are here to form a territory, then, sir, I am for giving them freedom in a territorial government. And when I say freedom, I mean freedom in the proper sense of the term; not freedom three thousand miles off. But when I form a territorial government over the people, I am for giving them freedom. We all know that when a State comes into the Union, if it comes in under the constitution, it is equal, and it has a right to make and unmake its institutions at any day it pleases. I have heretofore advocated, and now advocate, a liberal policy. But has this proposition met with any less favour, on account of its being a scheme of restriction? I never contended that a territorial government had sovereign rights. All rights man gains from God; for we are told that the Almighty takes cognisance of the children of men, when they enter into a territory; for I do not believe they are ever forgotten. They have rights so long as they remain in that administrative condition. What said Great Britain in regard to these colonies? "They are not fitted to legislate. We must pass restrictions over them." And we are holding precisely the doctrine of the British Parliament; the same old doctrines revamped and dressed in new clothes, for the purpose of passing off on the people of these territories. The very thing that we repudiated is brought here, as being the very quintessence of legislative wisdom. Sir, it is an attempt to place upon freemen in the nineteenth century the swaddling bands of infants. It is putting the young giant of 1848 into the clothes of the infant of 1787, and then asking him to exercise his freedom. I have been against this system of restriction from the beginning. I am against it everywhere. Why place restriction over a set of men who are as well qualified to legislate as we are? if they are not fit to govern themselves, give them a form of government. But they will have Slavery among them; and Slavery is denounced as being the worst evil that humanity has to fear. If you are going to restrict them in regard to this matter, why not pass a law that they shall not throw themselves into the Pacific. Why not pass a law that they shall not sink in the devouring flood, or more devouring flame? We are afraid they will have Slavery. Why are *they* not afraid that we will institute Slavery for them? New York has the right to institute Slavery. California has the right, and will she not do it? There are constitutional embarrassments, to be sure; but I deny that they would have any very considerable influence, and I rejoice at it. The territories do not lag behind, as in the infant days of the republic. No, sir. They leap into existence, like Minerva from the head of Jove. They know their rights as freemen, and repudiate the whole doctrine of restriction. The whole history of free government consists in one single sentence, and that is the consent of the governed. Any other system is tyranny. I care not whether it come from a king, or an emperor, or a despot, or Congress. It is tyranny. It is arbitrary power. It is the exercise of the functions of government against the will of the governed. It is a system of Slavery ten times worse than the system which we profess to be anxious to get rid of; because it is a violation of the great principles of our own system of government.

But my colleague has shown that there are restrictions here already. He has shown, that with regard to California, while they remained a part of the Mexican Republic, Slavery was abolished three times over: first by their constitution, next by the decree of the President, and lastly by act of Congress; three restrictions by man. And he has shown three other prohibitions, and those of Heaven itself—soil, climate, and productions. Then, sir, there are three laws of nature, against Slavery going there; and three laws of man against its going there and remaining; as my colleague believes that it cannot exist there, until a law is passed for its admission. Still every bill is blocked up. Nothing can pass, that we may have the benefit of the provisions of law. When it is urged that by three laws of man it is prohibited; and that soil, climate and productions forbid it going there; yet Congress cannot consent to permit it to go. I know it may be said, why cannot it? It cannot for two reasons. The south objects to it. They feel a kind of sensitiveness on the subject; and they have arrayed themselves as one man, and cry out it is unjust.

And I have respect enough for their opinion not to enforce upon them what I consider worse than useless. Another is, I object to it as a principle of government in all its bearings. I plead for freedom, for freedom's sake. The freedom I profess is that which acts of its own consent; not that which has to be kept in leading-strings, lest it should do what it ought not. Sir, I care not by what name you call it. I call it a system of Slavery, if the individual does not stand in the image of his God, and exercise the rights which were designed by his Maker to be exercised by him. Mexico, we are told, will be shocked at the idea, if we permit Slavery to go there. I do not propose to draw my lessons of morality from that nation. I do not know what is their sense upon the subject; and I very little care. I think it would be well for her to take the moat out of her own eye, before she attempts to take the beam out of ours. She would relieve herself of the abuses in her own system, before she troubles herself with our affairs. Great Britain, it might be said, would object. A slave cannot breathe in England, the poet tells us: and if he had said, at the same time, that millions of her freemen find respiration a difficult process, he would have told us a wholesome, but humiliating truth. Sir, my colleague says, by no act of his shall Slavery be extended. By no act of *mine* shall it be extended.—The last act of my life! I care very little how often it is charged upon me, that I am for extending Slavery, I deny it. I nail it to the counter as a base coin. What, in God's name, do I want to extend Slavery for? Now, such appeals have been made heretofore. Let them be made again. They have answered their day and purpose. The whole question has discharged its office. It is *functus officio*. The Senate of the American people believe no such thing. Every one who undertakes to stand up for the constitution, there is an attempt to silence him and destroy his influence, by saying, he is in favour of the extension of Slavery.

I have never heard the South say that they were in favour of the extension of Slavery. The South say. Let us alone? The South say that; and I will stand by them here, and elsewhere, object who will. It is a principle of non-interference that the South has a right to; and they shall have my voice and vote, and best wishes. But I never intend to aid the South in its extension, so help me God.—But I will leave it to its own force, to the law and the constitution of the country. This has been my opinion heretofore; and is my opinion now; and if I know myself, it will be my opinion hereafter. Sir, I regard all who interfere in this matter, whether of the North, the South, or in the centre; whether in this Congress, or in legislative assemblies or in popular meetings, with a view to create sectional irritation. I regard them as the sappers and miners of the constitution; I regard them as wrongdoers, that are to be held responsible. They subvert the very first principles of government. They would overthrow the edifice our fathers reared, and all for what? That they may prevent the extension of Slavery to territories, where they say it is already prohibited by Mexican law. When there is no proposition before Congress to extend it, and when the very law of climate, soil, and production, forbids its extension.

Sir, I oppose all sectional policy. You have never heard me say what the north will do, or what the south will do. I stand on the spirit of the constitution. and I invoke the aid of this Senate, and of Congress, in the name of my country. He who undertakes to stand, sir, upon sectional policy, and to array one section of the Union against another, let him be who he may, God will set a mark upon him, as indelible is that which stamped the forehead of the first murderer; but it will not be a mark of destruction, not of safety. All mankind will hunt him out as an evil beast. It will cling to him like the poisoned shirt [of myhtology.] It will stand out in after times, a monument of treachery, ingratitude and baseness.

Sir, I shall bring my remarks to a close. I have said but a small portion of what I intended to say. [Here the senator was not distinctly heard.] But I will say this, that no matter whence this spirit of agitation comes, no matter how boldly it comes, it shall be met; no matter whether, like the unclean spirit of old, it has gone out, and after a few years has returned, and found its apartments swept and garnished, and seeks now to make the last state worse than the first. Sir, no matter when it is met; no matter how soon; it is better that it should be met at the threshold, than at the hearthstone. We are not for Slavery; we are for preventing its extension. But do we not all know where this matter will end? do we not see that when it has once gained its end in this instance, it will ask for abolition in the District of Columbia, and then the states?—Sir, it requires not me to say where this matter tends; and it becomes every patriot in the north and in the south to set his face against this unholy agitation. Sir, I denounce those who minister at these unholy altars, from the priesthood downwards to their deluded worshippers. I call the attention of all people to the condition of this thing. Do you believe that you can set this matter at rest, after granting one concession? Who ever knew the tiger to be satisfied with the taste of blood, or the demagogue, the fanatic, the hypocrite, satisfied when you yield to their first demands? Sir, we may as well meet this question first as last. I will go against agitation, whether in the north or the south, and I will be sustained. I care not for the opinions of politicians. I will be sustained by the American people. What is there to apprehend in the circumstance of a few slaves going from one section of the Union to another? Sir, it shall not have my voice, my vote. This is a new device. I arraign no man's opinion, who believes in the doctrine of legislation for the extension of Slavery.—Let me not be misunderstood. I know many men whose political wisdom I do not arraign, who may be understood as denying this for particular purposes. If a President could be nominated and elected upon this question, either at the north or the south, the effect would be that there would be a dissolution of the Union; and in such case it ought to be dissolved. If he were elected by southern votes, and should rally around him a cabinet of the same sort, the north would turn their backs upon him; and would the south be the less to blame? Sir, would southern men, inheriting the spirit of the Revolution, ever come here into the federal Government, founded on principles of compromise, for the benefit of the whole, voting on sectional principles? No, sir. And they never ought to do it. If I were a southern man, in the language of a British statesman, I would say I would never do it: never, never, never! And I would never advise my neighbour to go. Sir, the only thing, in my opinion, that will dissolve the Union, in this sectional party feeling. And I denounce it here, for I feel it my duty to do so.

Sir, the question of agitation shall not escape under the pretext that it has nothing to do but to get rid of the extension of Slavery into the territories, I deny it even that house of refuge. Solomon, the wise king, spared not the guilty though he fled for safety and clung to the horns of the altar. He was ordered to be slain even there. And I will follow agitation even to this house of refuge. But I fear I weary the patience of this Senate, and I will hurry through what I intended to say, and I will close by this. My colleague undertook to say what New York would do—that she would not consent to the extension of Slavery, and that she would never aid in its extension in any shape. Sir, she will have nothing to do with it, in one way or another in my opinion. She will allow the constitution, the judiciary of that country, and the laws of the country, and the laws of Heaven, the laws of climate, soil, and productions, to regulate this matter in its own way. I know not what New York may do. I am proposing what I think she will do. Sir, New York may be obscured for a moment under a cloud; but it will be but a spot on the sun's disc which will soon pass away; and she will shine out again in meridian splendor, giving her light and genial heat to her sister States, who have associated with her in time of trial, in the dark days of the Revolution. We all remember well, that in the second war of independence she stood firmly by the principles of that constitution; and she fought side by side with our gallant brethren of the south; and though momentarily obscured, yet the eclipse has not been total. Sir, there is one thing New York has not done and I think never will do—she has not given her presidential vote to a candidate nominated upon sectional issues, upon sectional grounds, by a sectional party, for sectional purposes—that is what she has not done.

She has nourished and brought up children, and in the language of Scripture, they have rebelled against her; but she has not given her vote yet for sectional purposes; and God grant she never may! Sir, in the belief she never may, I invoke the prayer of my common country, that whatever else she may do, she may never commit that act, under the lead of any one—be it one of her own sons, or be it another. I have nothing to serve in this matter, but my convictions of duty. Had I coveted the popularity of the day, I could have rode on the whirlwind, if not directed the storm. But I have chosen to take the position I have, and the country will have very little difficulty in appreciating my conduct. I would be glad to say more on this occasion. I made up my mind on this amendment to vote for it. I considered it a great and trying emergency. I believed the emergency existed. I considered it objectionable in many of its provisions. It required a great and trying emergency to bring me out upon this question. The emergency existed; and I believe that I am serving the best interests of my State and people, when I advocate what I do, to give this temporary government to those people, that they may have laws. Sir, I do not stand here, as the great Burke said, when discussing the power of the colonies, to "discuss points of law, and hunt among the dusty vaults of past ages for precedents;" I stand here to act; to send out a messenger of peace, in the name of the law and constitution of my country, to our friends and brethren in these distant territories. That has been my object. Sir, I have no object in conciliating the South. I have no object under Heaven, except to serve my own State, and my own people. What other object should I have?

Sir, no man ever had such constituents as mine. I was taken by the hand generously by that State, in an humble condition of life; and after being led through various public stations of distinction there, they saw fit to give me one of the highest positions that could be conferred by their sovereign act. All that I am, or expect to be on earth, I owe there. There shall my first vows, after being paid to Heaven, be paid. There I desire to live, and there die. There I desire to serve, in any capacity in which she may think fit to place me; but I do not desire to yield to erroneous sentiment, even though put forth by the legislature itself. I have taken the responsibility heretofore; I will take it now. And I will endeavour to give to the people of the territories a government now. These are the views by which my conduct is to be guided. I shall always be found on the side of the institutions of my country. And if I shall be able to do something for that country's benefit, I shall be well repaid.

The Address of Mr. Berrian, which was adopted, as well as Mr. Calhoun's, at the Southern Convention, has never yet been published in the *Standard*, simply because we have not, till quite recently, been able to get a copy. We copy it now from a Southern paper, as the document is one which should be found in our columns:

Mr. Berrien's Address.

To the People of the United States: Fellow-Citizens, We are desirous of communing with you on a subject which is, in our judgment, intimately connected with the peace and harmony of the Union. We make no apology for doing so—our justification will be found in the motive which induces this address and in the object which it seeks to accomplish. That motive is, to preserve in its original freshness and vigour the fraternal feeling which animated our fathers—that prompted them to "ordain and establish" a constitution which, uniting us as one people, has enabled us to advance with a rapidity unexampled in the history of man to our present eminent rank among the nations of the world. The object which we seek to accomplish is to obtain from you a calm, dispassionate, and patriotic consideration of a series of measures calculated, we fear, to alienate that feeling and to beget animosities alike unfriendly to individual and to national prosperity. We make no sectional appeal. We address ourselves to the whole American people, as to those who have a common and an equal interest in preserving and perpetuating the friendly relations which happily subsist between the different States of the Union. If our right thus to present ourselves to your notice be questioned, we answer that it is the privilege of freemen to confer with their fellows on matters of public concern. If it be asked why has the present moment been chosen for this address, when (as it is said) no decisive measure has been perfected, the answer is, that the moment most propitious to conciliation is that which precedes, not that which follows decisive action on the subject in controversy.—If, again, it be asked what are our qualifications for the task in which we are engaged, it seems obvious to reply that the prolonged attendance at the seat of Government which our official duties demand and the part which we are required to take in the administration of public affairs necessarily make us familiar with the course of political events. But we invoke no aid from official station. We do not address you in our representative character. We speak to you as American freemen, and ask to be heard in the spirit in which we address you.

The subject to which we would call your attention is the controversy unhappily existing between portions of our fellow-citizens in the two great sections of the Union, resulting from a diversity of feeling and opinion, concerning the relation which exists between the European and African races, who dwell in its southern section. We invite your attention to a brief narrative of this controversy, its origin and progress, and to that series of measures to which it has given rise, which by a large portion of the American people are deemed injurious to the interests of the South, aggressive upon their rights, and alike inconsistent with the true spirit, intent, and purpose of our constitutional compact. This controversy had its origin at an early period of our history. It began shortly after the acknowledgement of our independence, and has progressively increased, until it has arrayed in opposite ranks two great portions of the American people; and that on a subject which is, as to one, an opinion, a sentiment, or, at most, a question of political power in the councils of the nation; while to the other, it is confessedly, of all subjects of policy the most vital. In its progress it has given rise to a series of measures which have been more recently multiplied with a degree of rapidity that manifests the determined purpose and extraordinary activity of those with whom they originate.—These measures are all tending to the same result. If carried into execution we think their certain effect would be to inflict an injury, the extent of which it is difficult to estimate, on the Southern States of the confederacy; to unsettle the political relations between the several United States, as these were adjusted by the constitution; to destroy the fraternal feeling which now unites us more firmly than the paper bands of that instrument; and necessarily, therefore, to disturb the peace and harmony of the Union.

Our purpose in making the statement which we propose is not to excite, but rather to allay the apprehensions which existing circumstances are calculated to create, to conform the dangers which threaten to disturb our peace, and to avert them (if, by the blessing of God, it may be so) by just, temperate, and united counsels, conceived and executed in the spirit of patriotism. In the moment of apprehended peril, it is the part of prudence to ascertain the nature and extent of the danger which threatens us, with a view to provide and to call into action our means of defence.

The framers of the Constitution were thoroughly advised of the resolve of the people of those States to enter into no compact which would jeopard this, their peculiar interest, or reduce them, because of the existence of Slavery among them, to an inequality with their co-States. Notwithstanding this, the controversy was introduced into the Convention, and formed one of the greatest difficulties in framing the Constitution. After many efforts, it was overcome by an agreement, which provided, in substance—

1. That representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the States, according to their respective numbers; and that, in ascertaining the number of each, five slaves shall be estimated as three;

2. That slaves, escaping into States where Slavery does not exist, shall not be discharged from servitude in consequence of any law or regulation of such State; but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom their labour or service is due;

3. That Congress shall not prohibit the importation of slaves before the year 1808, but a tax of ten dollars may be imposed on each one imported;

4. That no capitation or direct tax shall be laid but in proportion to federal numbers; and,

5. That no amendment of the Constitution, which may be made prior to 1808, shall affect the last preceding provision, or that relating to the importation of slaves.

So satisfactory were these provisions to the framers of the Constitution, that the second, relating to the delivery of fugitive slaves, was adopted unanimously, while the rest, except the third, relative to the importation of slaves, and to prolong the time from 1800 to 1808, passed with almost equal unanimity; and even that was sustained by the votes of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, and Connecticut.

These provisions of the Constitution affect the existence of Slavery in the Union which was about to be formed, and make a specific provision for its protection where it was supposed to be most exposed. They go further—they recognize Slavery as an elementary principle of the Constitution, regulating or influencing the government created by it in the two most important particulars of representation and taxation. Whoever will examine the records of the proceedings of that day, will be perfectly satisfied that these provisions thus intended to be conservative of the domestic institutions of the South were indispensable to the adoption of the Constitution; that without it this Union could never have existed. The debates of the convention show that this was perfectly understood by the representatives from the non-slaveholding States, and that with this understanding they ratified the Constitution. The act of ratification was a solemn pledge for themselves and in behalf of their constituents for the observance of these stipulations according to their letter and spirit. How far that pledge has been redeemed is an inquiry not to be answered by denunciation of the conduct of any portion of our countrymen. It is a simple narrative of events which we offer to your consideration, by the perusal of which our fellow-citizens, in whatever portion of the Union they may dwell, may decide for themselves the question of its observance or violation.

It remains to present to you a brief view of a series of measures introduced into the representative branch of Congress during the present session, and connected with the subject of this address. The first of these is a resolution introduced by a member from Massachusetts, the object of which is to repeal all acts or parts of acts which authorize the existence of Slavery, or of selling and disposing of slaves, in this District. On the question of granting leave to bring in a bill, the votes stood 69 for, and 82 against it. The next was a resolution offered by a member from Ohio, instructing the Committee on Territories to report forthwith bills for excluding Slavery from New Mexico and California. It passed by a vote of 107 to 80; and the bill has been since reported. That was followed by a bill, introduced by another member from Ohio, to take the votes of the inhabitants of this District, whether Slavery within its limits should be abolished. The bill provided, according to the admission of the mover, that free negroes and slaves should vote. On the question to lay the bill on the table, the votes stood 106 for, and 79 against the motion. To this succeeded the resolution proposed by a member from New York in the following words:

"Whereas the traffic now prosecuted in this metropolis of the Republic in human beings as chattels is contrary to natural justice and the fundamental principles of our political system, and is notoriously a reproach to our country throughout Christendom and a serious hindrance to the progress of republican liberty among the nations of the earth; therefore,

"Resolved, That the Committee on the District be instructed to report a bill, as soon as practicable, prohibiting the Slave Trade in said District."

On the question of adopting the resolution, the votes stood 98 for and 88 against it. He was followed by a member from Illinois, who offered a resolution for abolishing Slavery in the Territories and all places where Congress has exclusive power of legislation—that is, in all forts, magazines, arsenals, dock-yards, and other needful buildings purchased by Congress with the consent of the Legislature of the State. This resolution was passed over under the rules of the House.

These various propositions have not been finally acted upon. Indeed, the resolution offered by the member from New York has been reconsidered, and remains now on the Speaker's table as a resolution presented but not acted upon by the House. To this indication of a more conservative feeling it ought to be added, that, while the support of these several measures was confined to the Representatives of non-slaveholding States and consisted of those of both parties, there were patriotic individuals from those States who refused their support to measures which they believed were uncalled for by the occasion and unfriendly to the peace and harmony of the Union.

We have now brought to a close the narrative of measures connected with the subject of this address, including those which are consummated as well as those which are in progress, and we think it will not be denied that the consummation of the latter would afford just cause of apprehension to

to be) of jeoparding the peace and harmony of the Union All will admit that the institution of domestic Slavery is one which it belongs exclusively to the States in which it exists to establish, to regulate, to continue, or to abolish. Any and every interference with it by the citizens of other States, whether direct or indirect, is therefore a wrong which becomes aggravated when it is committed by those with whom we are for certain purposes united as one people, and who avail themselves of this relation to make their interference more hurtful. If Slavery be a sin, he who is not a slaveholder is free from the guilt of it. Why should he desire to become his brother's keeper? Is there no feeling—no thought—no act of his own which requires his care and which would better reward his vigilance? Is an opinion, a sentiment, a measure of sectional policy to be urged and enforced at the hazard of disturbing the peaceful relations of twenty millions of people? Why may not this controversy be adjusted? Does the District of Columbia present the obstacle? Cannot some mode be devised to withdraw this disturbing question from the national Legislature? Is it the question in relation to the territories? Why should we not profit by experience? The wisdom of those who have gone before us was competent to the restoration of harmony in 1820; why should we not follow in their steps? The intense excitement of that day was allayed by it, and its beneficent influences were felt during the next twenty years of our political existence. When the questions connected with the annexation of Texas seemed likely to revive that excitement, the same American feeling prevailed, and the danger was averted. Why should it not be equally efficacious now? Has our love of country diminished—is it limited to a section—or does it not embrace our whole country? If the territories which we have acquired are unfitted to the institutions of the South—if they cannot exist there—why the denunciation of them? If it be said that the South is contending for an abstraction, because the right which she claims, if it were conceded, could not be exercised in these territories, is it not yet more obvious that those, who insist upon the express denial of the right, are themselves pursuing a phantom? Are they not insisting upon the solemn legislative denial of a right which, (they themselves being the judges,) whether it be affirmed or denied, can never be exercised? But the denial is not confined to the territories now held by the United States: it extends also to those which may be hereafter acquired, however peculiarly such territories may be adapted to slave labour; nay, even although they should be territories in which Slavery exists. Is the claim of the South to participate in such territories an abstraction? And again the assertion of that right, even where it cannot be exercised, cannot be an abstraction, unless the political equality which lies at the foundation of our Government may be deemed so. But can the peace and harmony of the Union be jeoparded by considerations like these?

We have done. Our desire has been to place before the American people the facts necessary to enable *them* to stay this controversy—to exercise the restraining influence which they alone possess to give harmony to our counsels, and prosperity to our country. We, too, constitute a portion of that people; and speedily resuming places among them, will unite our efforts for the accomplishment of this beneficent result.

They claimed that Congress has no right to add to this condition, and that to assume it would be tantamount to the assumption of the right to make its entire constitution and government, as no limitation could be imposed, as to the extent of the right, if it be admitted that it exists at all. Those who supported the amendment denied these grounds, and claimed the right of Congress to impose, at discretion, what conditions it pleased. In this agitating debate, the two sections stood arrayed against each other; the South in favour of the bill without amendment, and the North opposed to it unless it was amended. The debate and agitation continued until the session was well advanced; but it became apparent, toward its close, that the people of Missouri were fixed and resolved in their opposition to the proposed condition, and that they would certainly reject it, and adopt a constitution without it, should the bill pass, with the condition. Such being the case, it required no great effort of mind to perceive that Missouri once in possession of a constitution and government not simply on paper, but with legislators elected, and officers appointed to carry them into effect, the grave questions would be presented, whether she was of right a State or Territory, and if the former, whether Congress had the right, and, if the right, the power to abrogate her constitution, and disperse her Legislature, and to remand her back to the territorial condition. These were great, and, under the circumstances, fearful questions—too fearful to be met by those who had raised the agitation. From that time the only question was, how to escape from the difficulty. Fortunately, a means was afforded. A compromise (as it was called) was offered, based on the terms that the North should cease to oppose the admission of Missouri, on the grounds for which the South contended; and that the provisions of the ordinance of 1787, for the government of the Northwestern territory, should be applied to all the territory acquired by the United States from France under the treaty of Louisiana lying north of 36 deg. 30 min. except the portion lying in the State of Missouri. The Northern members embraced it; and although not originating with them, adopted it as their own. It was forced through Congress by the almost united votes of the North, against a minority consisting almost entirely of members from the Southern States. Such was the termination of the first conflict between the two sections, in reference to Slavery in connection with the Territories. On this subject we propose to offer you a few brief remarks.

Waiving the consideration of the question whether Congress can constitutionally prohibit the introduction of slaves into the territories acquired by the United States, and the other question, whether, in the actual condition of these territories, slaves can be carried within their limits, and held as such, without the sanction of an act of Congress, we desire to submit to you the considerations on which the claim of the South to participate in the benefit resulting from territories acquired by the United States may, we think, be safely rested.

For the purpose of immigration, the territories of the United States are open to all the world—to citizens and foreigners, without discrimination as to character, profession, or colour. All, whether savage or civilized, may freely enter. Shall the people of the South alone be excluded, or permitted on conditions that deny to them the use of those means which habit has rendered necessary to their comfortable subsistence? Before they are permitted to enter these territories, must they be divested of the character in which they were invited and admitted to enter into the Union? They entered the convention as slaveholders, shared in its deliberations as such; as slaveholders they ratified the constitution. In the same character they have been, and continue to be, represented in the national councils. As slaveholders they have contributed to the expenses of the government which they thus assisted to create, by the payment of taxes on the specific property which gives to them that peculiar character. Will you deny to their people the right to participate in the acquisitions of that Government, which, in conjunction with their co-States, they have thus created and supported, unless you are first permitted to strip them of the character in which they created and have supported it? These territories were acquired by the common treasures and united efforts of all the States. The South contributed her due portion of money, and much more than her due proportion of men, to the war in which they were acquired, as the following brief statement will show:

Statement of the number of Volunteers.

From the South—Regiments,		33
	Battalions,	14
	Companies,	120
Total number of volunteers from the South,		45,640
From the North—Regiments,		22
	Battalions,	2
	Companies,	12
Total number of volunteers from the North,		23,084

Thus it is seen that of the volunteers in the war with Mexico furnished by the Northern and Southern States, the proportion contributed by the South is nearly two to one. And when it is considered that the population of Northern States is nearly two-thirds greater than that of the Southern States, it is obvious that the latter have furnished more than three times their due proportion of volunteers. Apart from all questions of constitutional power, or of international law, can it consist with right and justice to deny to them a participation in territories thus acquired?

But again. Ours is a Federal Government, an association of States—united, and yet preserving their individuality. To them, as members of the federal Union, these territories belong, not to the federal Government, consisting of the executive, legislative, and judicial departments of that Government. Hence they are said to be territories belonging to the United States—to the States comprising the Union. The States, then, are joint owners of this property. Now, it is conceded by all writers on the subject, that in such governments the members are all equal—equal in rights and equal in dignity. If elsewhere this were a disputed point, we could safely appeal to our constitutional compact for the proof, that, with us, it is undeniably true that the equality of the States is an elementary principle of that compact—one which lies at the foundation of our Government. To destroy this equality, then, is to change the character of the government which rests upon it as its basis. The exclusion of the Southern States and their citizens from their full share in territories thus declared to belong to them in common with the other States, would, therefore, be to deprive them of a right—it would derogate from the equality which is inseparable from their condition as members of the Union—would sink them from their rightful position, as equals, into a dependent and subordinate condition. Nor can the people of the South be insensible to the consequences which must result from the establishment and continued enforcement of the principle on which the proposed exclusion would rest. That principle, openly avowed, is, that the domestic institutions peculiar to the Southern States shall never be transferred to any territories now or hereafter to be acquired by the United States. The institution as it now exists, and in the States where it now exists, (it is said,) may not be disturbed by the federal government, because it is secured by the compromises of the constitution. If this were not so—if this guarantee were not found in that instrument—even in the States it would not be secure. An institution which is declared to be sinful—in violation of natural right—contrary to the law of God—to our own Declaration of Independence—and disgraceful to any people who tolerate it—would not be suffered to exist, if those who thus denounced it had the power to abolish it. If the constitutional impediment were removed, they would feel themselves bound to obey the dictates of conscience, and these they tell us forbid its continuance.—The continued enforcement of the principle which forbids the transfer of the domestic institutions of the South to any territory now or hereafter to be acquired, combined with other causes in constant operation, tends inevitably to the removal of this constitutional impediment. Several of the States of this Union are in a transition state, from the condition of slaveholding to that of non-slaveholding States. When that change shall have been accomplished, and they shall have taken their position among the non-slaveholding States, and when to these are added the new States to be formed out of territories now or hereafter to be acquired, the aggregate will constitute the requisite majority of States to remove the constitutional impediment to an interference with Slavery in the States. And how can they abstain from the exercise of the power which they will thus have acquired consistently with principles avowed and acted upon at this moment to the full extent of their capacity to enforce them? Can the people of the South be insensible to the danger which thus menaces their own peculiar and cherished institutions? Ought not the sound intelligence and conservative feeling of the American people in every portion of the Union, alike independent of and superior to party or sectional divisions, to be exerted to avert it?

For thirty years after the adoption of the Constitution these provisions were so far respected as at give no serious cause of complaint to anybody. Passing for the present the pretensions set forth, and the agitations created by the Missouri controversy, we proceed to consider the provision in relation to fugitive slaves, its operation, and the resistance which it has been doomed to encounter.

That provision is in the following words: "No person held to service or labour in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another State, shall in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labour, but shall be delivered up on claim of the person to whom such labour or service may be due." This provision is clear There is not an uncertain or equivocal word to be found in it. What shall be and what shall not be done are fully and distinctly set forth. It provides that the fugitive slave shall not be discharged from his servitude, but shall be delivered up on the claim of his owner. This constitutes an essential part of the constitutional compact—is part and parcel of the supreme law of the land. As such, it is binding on the Federal and State Governments, on the States, and on all the individuals composing them. The sacred obligation of compact, and the solemn injunction of the supreme law, which legislators and judges, both Federal and State, are bound by oath to support, all unite to enforce its fulfilment, according to its plain meaning and its true intent. As to what that meaning and intent are, there was no diversity of opinion in the earlier days of the Republic. Congress, the State Legislatures, Federal and State judges, and magistrates, all spontaneously placed the same interpretation on it. During that period, none interposed impediment in the way of the master, seeking to recover his fugitive slave; nor did any deny his right to have every proper facility for the enforcement of his claim to have him delivered up. It was then almost as easy to recover one found in a non slaveholding State, as one found in a neighbouring slaveholding State. But this state of things has passed away, and, to all practical purposes, the provision may be said to be almost defunct. Now, when we take into consideration the importance of this provision and the clearness with which it is expressed, we submit to all those to whom we address ourselves, in whatever portion of the Union they may dwell, that any evasion of it is alike injurious and unjustifiable. This idea cannot be more correctly, concisely, and impressively stated, than in the language of two of the judges of the Supreme Court. In the case of Prigg *vs.* the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Judge Story said: "Historically, it is well known that the object of this clause was to secure the citizens of the slaveholding States the complete right and title of ownership in their slaves, as property, in every State of the Union into which they might escape from the State wherein they were held in servitude. The full recognition of this right and title was indispensable to the security of this species of property in all the slaveholding States; and, indeed, was so vital to the preservation of their interests and institutions, that it cannot be doubted that it constituted a fundamental article, without the adoption of which the Union would not have been formed. Its true design was to guard against the doctrines and principles prevalent in the non-slaveholding States, by preventing them from intermeddling with, or restricting, or abolishing the rights of the owners of the slaves."

Again "The clause was therefore of the last importance to the safety and security of Southern States; and could not be surrendered by them, without endangering their whole property in slaves. The clause was accordingly adopted in the Constitution by the unanimous consent of the framers of it—a proof at once of its intrinsic and practical necessity."

Again: "The clause manifestly contemplates the existence of a positive unqualified right on the part of the owner of the slave, which no State law or regulation can in any way regulate, control, qualify, or restrain."

The opinion of the other learned judges was not less emphatic as to the importance of this provision, and the unquestionable right of the South under it. In the case of Johnson *vs.* Tompkins and others, Judge Baldwin, in charging the jury, said: "If there are any rights of property which can be enforced—if one citizen have any rights of property which are inviolable under the protection of the Supreme Court of the State, and the Union they are those which have been set at nought by some of these defendants. As the owner of property, which he had a perfect right to possess, protect, and take away—as a citizen of a sister State, entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens of any other States, Mr. Johnson stands before you on ground which cannot be taken from under him—it is the same ground on which the Government itself is based. If the defendants can be justified, we have no longer law or government." Again: After referring more particularly to the provision for delivering up fugitive slaves, he said: "Thus you see that the foundations of the government are laid and rest on the right of property in slaves. The whole structure must fall by disturbing the corner-stone."

These are grave and solemn and admonitory words from a high source. They state with great force the clearness, importance, and fundamental character of this provision, and the disastrous consequences which must follow from its violation. Yet, in despite of these solemn warnings, the citizen of the South, seeking the recovery of his fugitive slave, instead of receiving the aid provided for by the constitution, and which the learned judges referred to, have endeavoured to enforce, is doomed to encounter resistance in every form which ingenuity can devise: from legislative acts—from judges and magistrates; and, when these fail, from mobs of whites and blacks, who, by force or threats, rescue the fugitive slave from his rightful owner; while he is subject to insult, to the hazard of imprisonment, of heavy pecuniary loss, and even of life itself. A citizen of Maryland—Mr. Kennedy, of Hagerstown—it is well known, has lost his life in an attempt to recover his fugitive slave under this provision.

But this provision of the constitution is violated indirectly, as well as directly, by organized combinations of individuals in many of the States, whose object is to entice slaves from their masters, and to pass them secretly and rapidly, by means previously arranged, into Canada, where they are beyond the reach of this provision—a process which all will agree is as directly repugnant to its injunctions as its open or even forcible violation would be; and yet it is believed that not one of the States within whose limits they exist have adopted any measures to suppress them.

We commend this statement of facts, relating to this provision concerning fugitive slaves, to the serious consideration of our fellow-citizens in every portion of the Union, to the forbearance of our Southern brethren, to the patriotism and respect for the constitution of those of the North.

It is impossible, in a communication like this, to avoid noticing the continued assaults upon the domestic institution of the South which are made in so many various forms. Without striking at any express and specific provision of the constitution, they aim directly at the destruction of the relations existing between the slave and his owner, by means subversive in their tendency of one of the chief ends for which the constitution was established. We refer to the systematic agitations by Abolitionists, which, commencing in 1835, are still continued. The avowed intention is to bring about a state of things which would force emancipation on the South. To unite the North in fixed hostility to the South on the subject of Slavery, is one means employed to accomplish it. For this purpose, societies are formed, newspapers are established, debating clubs are opened, lecturers are employed, pamphlets and other publications, pictures, and petitions to Congress are circulated, while the continued agitation of the subject of abolition in one or other form in Congress, and the employment of emissaries to distribute incendiary publications in the South, are relied on to excite discontent among the slaves.

No one doubts that Slavery is a domestic institution, which belongs exclusively to the State in which it exists to establish, to regulate, or to abolish. Any attempt, therefore, on the part of the Federal Government, or of any State, or of the people of any State, by direct or indirect means, to interfere with the institution as it exists in any State, to diminish its value, or to force its abandonment, would be a plain and palpable violation of the sovereign rights of such State. Such an interference would not be tolerated between independent sovereignties. It would be met by remonstrance, and if necessary by force. Between States connected, as we are, in fraternal bonds, under a constitution ordained and established "to insure domestic tranquility," it is still more unjustifiable; and yet associations formed for this purpose, and openly avowing their object, exist in States within whose limits there is nothing upon which they can operate; whose sole occupation, therefore, it is to disturb the domestic tranquility of other States, and who are nevertheless uncontrolled by the authorities of the States in which they are established. We will not dwell on this subject. In the same friendly spirit that dictates this address, we submit the statement which truth compels us to make to the calm, dispassionate, patriotic consideration of our countrymen. We now return to the question of the admission of Missouri into the Union, and shall proceed to give a brief sketch of the occurrences connected with it, and the consequence to which *it* has directly led. In the latter part of 1819, the then territory of Missouri applied to Congress, in the usual form, for a State constitution and government, in order to be admitted into the Union. A bill was reported for the purpose, with the usual provisions in such cases; amendments were offerred, having for their object to make it a condition of her admission, that her constitution should have a provision to prohibit Slavery. This brought on the agitating debate which, with the effects that followed has done so much to alienate the South and North, and endanger our political institutions. Those, who objected to the amendment, rested their opposition on the high grounds of the right of self-government. They claimed that a territory, having reached the period when it is proper for it to form a constitution and government for itself, becomes fully vested with all the rights of self-government; and that even the condition imposed on it by the federal constitution, relates not to the formation of its constitution and government, but to its admission into the Union. For that purpose, it provides, as a condition, that the government must be republican.

LETTER,

FROM A RUNAWAY SLAVE TO HIS EX-MASTER

The letter here introduced to the reader, was mailed at Pontiac, Mich. in October, 1848. Not having received any reply, it is now published according to promise.—*True Wesleyan.*

To Messrs. Silas Gatewood and Daniel Lane:

I have long felt impressed with the duty of writing you a friendly letter, expressive of what I think of your treatment, while I was in your power, and, of the business in which you are engaged: namely, dealing in human flesh and hunting runaway slaves. And notwithstanding all the light which has been shed upon this subject, during the last fifteen years, I understand from good authority that you are still pursuing this hellish course.

I am now on my way to a Free Soil Convention, where the subject of human Slavery will be discussed in all its forms and bearings. And I think it very probable that your names will be brought up here by myself, as two of the propagandists of the system. My object for using your names in public is, simply to state facts, and thereby make slaveholding and man-stealing more unpopular and disreputable here among the honest free labourers of the North; and that they may know what value to place upon the moral and religious character of the American slaveholders.

You will doubtless now remember, that about eight years have elapsed since you most wickedly bound my limbs with irons, and then sold me to another tyrant, who transported my body to the New Orleans slave market, to be disposed of, as you thought, upon the public auction block, and thence to linger out my days under a slave-driver's lash on a cotton plantation. But there is nothing truer than the words of the prophet: "If God be for us, who can be against us? What have you gained by banishing me from my native State? or what have you accomplished by it? True, you have succeeded in separating me from my little family for life. An act which an honest, enlightened person would spurn. You have been the means of reducing my bereaved wife to an ungodly state of adultery, by causing her to be sold to a southern profligate; and you are perhaps now fattening upon the price thereof. But little did you then think, that all this would result in my emancipation from under the galling yoke of chattel slavery! Little did you think that I was to become one of the suffering slaves' representatives in the great National Convention at Buffalo, which has made the slaveocracy of the nation tremble. But I thank God, it is even so. And let me here inform you and your bandit of the South, that your slaveholding days are numbered. You may bind the limbs of whip scarred victims in chains, you may lock their bodies in dungeons and jails, and brand upon their quivering flesh the letters of your names; but the immortal spirit of liberty which is the gift of God, you can never enslave nor extinguish.

Allow me to call your attention to a few facts in relation to your treatment of me at the time of my capture in Kentucky. Do you remember the first act of violence and robbery which you committed upon me after I had surrendered up my body to your hostile mob? The first thing done, was to pick my pockets, in which you found my certificate from the M. E. Church. This was given to me by my class leader as a passport among Christians of that body, testifying to my worthiness as a member of the above church. But this was taken from me by brother (!) Gatewood. Had it been my ticket of admission through the gate of Heaven, I verily believe it would have been taken from me in the same manner. You also took from me $14 in cash, a watch for which I paid $10; a pocket knife, for which I paid 75 cents; and a Bible, for which I paid 62 1-2 cents. All this you robbed me of unblushingly. You then took me to a blacksmith's shop and had heavy irons riveted upon my limbs—you then had my body locked within the cold dungeon walls of the Bedford jail, destined for the Southern slave market. I need not ask whether you consider such treatment to be compatible with humanity or justice,—saying nothing of the religion which you profess. I suppose your own conscience must condemn you.

Had such flagrant outrages been committed upon a free white man, even in the same State, it would have been pronounced robbery of the darkest hue, and as such, would have subjected the robber to the severest penalty of the law. But you may try to justify yourself by saying I was the property of your father, and that my great grandmother was black, therefore it was not robbery to pick my pocket! But the principle is robbery. It will be found so, when tried by the standard of impartial justice. I deny the right of any man to hold property in man. I grant that I was held to labour under your father, without wages, by brute force. I also affirm that the crime of picking a man's pockets is not worthy to be compared with robbing him of his soul, body and spirit. But all this, both you and your father have robbed me of, as long as you could, and for which you are bound to answer before your Creator.

I understand from another fugitive that the old man has departed this life. Solemn thought—"He is gone from works to reward." And remember that you must soon follow him. But allow me to inquire whether the old gentleman is dead? And if so, whether he continued to live an acceptable member of the M. E. Church? And whether he set any of his slaves free before he died, or whether he lived and died an inflexible slaveholder?—My object in asking the above questions is, not to make slaveholding piety appear worse than it really is; but to speak frankly upon the subject. I think that slaveholding religion is a little worse than none at all. I believe with James G. Birney, Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Gerrit Smith, Esq. and a host of other good men and women, that slaveholding is a sin under all circumstances. I mention the names of these distinguished philanthropists, because I presume they are pretty generally known at the South; the former being a Kentuckian by birth, and a slaveholder. But for the sake of becoming a consistent Christian, justice and humanity constrained him to set his sighing captives free. And so must you; if you are willing to do the will of God, you must let the oppressed go free. It is no use for you or your slaveholding neighbours to try to conceal this iniquity under the cloak of religion, as if you thought a God of justice would sanction slaveholding which is the quintessence of man-stealing, robbery and theft. The man who will do these things in the nineteenth century, in a land so filled with light and Bibles as ours, is preëminently guilty before his Maker, and should be regarded by enlightened Christianity as a mere Devil's agent.

In relation to Daniel Lane, I will only say, this poor deluded fellow deserves more to be pitied than rebuked for his ungodly conduct, from the fact that he has been trained up by the wealthy slaveholders, to do what they would not condescend to do: namely, to act in the capacity of a mere panderer for them among the slaves, and a hunting dog to catch runaways. And what made him more efficient, he possessed all the qualifications for such business with one exception, namely: his legs not being quite long enough to overtake me when I left him in the horse stable in the city of Louisville, Kentucky. He was a drunkard, a gambler, a profligate, and a slaveholder. Such a character would expel him or yourself from respectable society in this section of the country. Not so in a slaveholding State. There you can, and do, oppress your coloured brethren, in connection with other villains, and still be respected. I now call your attention to a small bill I hold against you, which has never been settled, and you well know it to be an honest debt. The amount is only twenty-five dollars and thirty-seven and a half cents. Acknowledge the wrong and do the right, for which I will freely forgive you. Is it not your duty to refund back the price of robbery? What say you in reply to this? I hope to hear from you on the reception of this; and remember, if you do not answer to the above charges and give reasonable satisfaction, you may expect to see this letter published to the world; and I will hold you up to public scorn and disgrace wherever I go until you confess your wickedness before the world, and I intend thereby to expose the bloody institution of American Slavery through you; and your name shall become a public hissing and by-word for the school boys of the free North.

I understand that you and your slaveholding neighbours are much concerned about my welfare, in connection with other fugitives, who have left your land of mental darkness and physical degradation, to come where we may enjoy the blessings of religious liberty; you seem to have so much of that kind of love for us that the wolf has for the lamb, that you have conceived the idea that the people of colour cannot take care of themselves, which is a great mistake.

I am happy to inform you that I am well and doing well on "free soil, and free labour." Glorious contrast between Slavery and liberty. But I am also informed that there is a great reward offered in Kentucky for my head, simply because I am here exposing slaveholding religion and manstealing; but I think it very doubtful whether you will have the pleasure of seeing my head again in your manstealing State before Slavery is abolished, which cannot be far off, juding from the signs of the times; for we are already engaged in a second revolutionary struggle against American tyranny, and with a God of justice on our side we can fight vigourously under the banner of liberty. "But the weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but mighty through God" to the destruction of human Slavery, while you with other Southern despots are fighting under the leadership of Satan for oppression. In such a cause, with such a leader, how can you expect to prosper? In the name of Christ, I ask you to reflect upon this matter, and set your slaves free. It is an indispensable duty which you owe to them and to your Creator.

Believe me, sir, to be a friend of God
and down trodden humanity,
HENRY BIBB.

The Anti-Slavery Standard.

Without Concealment—Without Compromise.

NEW-YORK, THURSDAY MARCH 29, 1849.

FIFTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING.
OF THE
AMERICAN A. S. SOCIETY.

The FIFTEENTH ANNIVERSARY of the AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY will be held in the TABERNACLE, BROADWAY, NEW YORK, on TUESDAY the 8th day of MAY next.

The Annual Meeting of the American Society is the most important Anti-Slavery Meeting held anywhere during the year.

The ANNIVERSARY at the TABERNACLE represents to the country at large the progress, the efficiency, and even the existence, of the Anti-Slavery cause. It is to vast numbers of people the only sign of the continued zeal and spirit of the Abolitionists, of whose local meetings they never hear.

The BUSINESS MEETINGS of the Society have always brought together in counsel a larger number of Abolitionists from various parts of the Northern States than is ever convened on any other occasion. The general interests of the cause command, at that time, a consideration which at no other can be given them.

It has never, since the formation of the society, been more apparent than at this moment, that the Anti-Slavery cause is left where it ever has been, in the hands of the members of the American Society. There is as yet no reason to suppose that Slavery will ever be abolished except through its efforts.

The general importance of the Annual Meeting, and the aspect of the cause at this moment, which gives us every thing to hope for if we persevere,—everything to fear if we falter—appeal alike loudly to Abolitionists, all over the land, to make the ensuing ANNUAL MEETING of the AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY one that shall do more even than any previous one has done to drive the South to despair in defence of its felonious system of society, and the North to a more determined attitude than any portion of it has ever yet ventured to assume in defence of its own rights, and the assertion of the rights of the slave.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Prest.
WENDELL PHILLIPS, S. H. GAY, } Secy's.

LINES

SUGGESTED BY THE GRAVES OF TWO ENGLISH SOLDIERS ON CONCORD BATTLE GROUND.

The same good blood that now refills
The dotard Orient's shrunken veins,
The same whose vigour westward thrills
Bursting Nevada's silver chains,
Poured here upon the April grass,
Freckled with red the herbage new;
On reeled the battle's trampling mass,
Back to the ash the bluebird flew.

Poured here in vain; that sturdy blood
Was meant to make the earth more green,
But in a higher, gentler mood
Than broke this April noon serene:
Two graves are here; to mark the place,
At head and foot, an unhewn stone,
O'er which the herald lichens trace
The blazon of oblivion.

These men were brave enough, and true
To the hired soldier's bulldog creed;
What brought them here they never knew,
They fought as suits the English breed;
They came three thousand miles and died
To keep the Past upon its throne;
Unheard, beyond the oceantide,
Their English mother made her moan.

The turf that covers them no t hrill
Sends up to fire the heart and brain;
No stronger purpose nerves the will,
No hope renews its youth again:
From farm to farm the Concord glides
And trails my fancy with its flow;
O'er head the balanced henhawk slides,
Twinned in the river's heaven below.

But go, whose Baystate bosom stirs,
Proud of thy birth and neighbour's right,
Where sleep the heroic villagers
Borne red and stiff from Concord fight;
Thought Reuben, snatching down his gun,
Or Seth, as sobbed the life away,
What earthquake rifts would shoot and run
Worldwide from that short April fray?

What then? With heart and hand they wrought
According to their village light;
'Twas for the Future that they fought,
Their rustic faith in what was right;
Upon earth's tragic stage they burst
Unsummoned, in the humble sock;
Theirs the fifth act; the curtain first
Rose long ago on Charles's block.

Their graves have voices; if they threw
Dice charged with fates beyond their ken,
Yet to their instincts they were true,
And had the genius to be men;
Fine privilege of Freedom's host,
Of even foot-soldiers for the Right!
For centuries dead, ye are not lost,
Your graves send courage forth and might.

J. R. L.

Domestic Slave Trade.

We have seen in none of the comments of Northern papers upon Mr. Clay's Letter, any notice of its most important feature, and one which the Southern papers are careful not to overlook. Mr. Clay's scheme is one for the gradual abolition of Slavery, but it is not even a gradual one for the emancipation of the slaves. Should the plan become a law, and should a slave, at that distant day which it designates for the commencement of its operation, be sought for, to be emancipated under it, there would not probably be found one in the State of Kentucky. What ever the law makes property is property, said Mr. Clay ten years ago, and acting in accordance with the humane sentiment of that declaration, the slave owners would have availed themselves of the interval afforded by the law to 'realise' on that portion of their estate invested in their proposed fellow-citizens. This is a most important part of Mr. Clay's plan, and one which should not be lost sight of; nor do we doubt that it was foreseen by Mr. Clay that the result would be to rid Kentucky of Slavery and her slaves at the same time, without any sacrifice, on the part of the slave owners, of their pecuniary interest in the institution. The thought is worthy of the Great Compromiser, and, if dust could be thrown in the eyes of her Southern neighbours, Kentucky would be wedded to her own destruction, and besotted past hope, if she did not avail herself of so favourable an opportunity to serve Mammon, though at the same moment she would be trying to cheat God.

Unfortunately for her, however, the States farther South are not so easily blinded. It is very plain to them that the only colonies the Kentucky slaves will ever find, under Mr. Clay's plan, will be within their borders. If she considers the system a curse, they will not thank her, whatever they may think about it, to transfer it to them. Whatever it be, they prefer that she should remain of their company; and if she will not they will be careful that they will run no risk from the overplus of her servile population.

This question of permitting the farther importation of slaves was beginning to attract attention before the appearance of Mr. Clay's Letter, and that, of course, will only quicken that attention. We gave some weeks since the gist of a publication put forth by Judge Heydenfeldt of Alabama advocating the prohibition of the importation of slaves into that State. He is not alone in his views, but probably, could an universal expression of opinion be had upon the subject, would be seconded by a great majority of the Southern papers. Here and there one like the *Charleston Mercury*, or *Augusta Republic* whose devotion to the cause of Slavery in general far outweighs any selfish considerations, may take the other view of the question. The last named paper is already defending the policy of free trade in negroes, as a preservative means for the system of Slavery. Slavery, it argues, would be completely restricted within its present limits should the trade be prohibited, and the result of this would be forced Emancipation in the border States where slave-labour is already not very productive, or in any State where the quantity of land would be insufficient to employ the increasing population. The true policy, it declares, is that the Southernmost slaveholding State, which is now supposed to be Texas, and needing a slave population, should import from Louisiana, and that Louisiana should supply her market thus drained of its products, from the next Northernmost State, and she of the next, and so on, to the border of the Free States. Precisely how this trade is to be managed to make it follow just this channel, the *Republic* does not tell us,—how the trader from Washington with a stock laid in at low prices is to be prevented from underselling the trader from New Orleans in the markets of Texas—or how indeed, he is to be prevented from going south of Virginia if from the District, or south of North Carolina, if from Virginia, and so on, if the goods will command a better price further South, than in the localities assigned to him. The slave-power can do almost anything in this country, but it will find it difficult to change the laws of trade to suit itself. The *Republic* seems, too, to be conscious of some such difficulty, for it acknowledges that when Texas is supplied, it is at a loss to know what shall then be done.—"Its object," it says, and evidently with tears in its eyes, "has always been to keep open the Southern frontier.—We wanted to get every foot of land in New Mexico and California, upon which slave labour could be profitable." And it advises that slaveholders emigrate at once to New Mexico and California, with their slaves, before any decision is had as to whether the territory shall be free soil or not, and so perhaps secure a portion of it as a market, for a few score years to come, for the surplus production of the present States. What shall be done in case this plan shall not succeed, and Slavery shall be declared illegal in the Territories the *Republic* sayeth not.

Inactivity—the first principle of the South Carolina school of politics—it recommends as the wisest course for the present, with a hint that the moral tone of the South should not be lowered, for that the slaveholders always recognise as of great importance. Great mischief, they know there is, in speaking evil of dignitaries. Thus the *Republic* regrets "to see so many harsh epithets used in Southern papers against the speculators in slaves. We know of no reason why it is not legitimate to deal in them as well as *other property*. A slave dealer may be as good and humane a man as any other. We know some who are kind-hearted and liberal, and who do everything in their power to mitigate any evil attendant upon this traffic. Such remarks as we refer to, are looked upon as self-reflections, as reflections upon our institution, and are so proclaimed by its enemies in every quarter."

On the other hand, the *Chronicle and Sentinel* also published in Augusta, Ga. takes quite another view of this matter, and notices with great satisfaction, that the leading journals of the State are advocating the enforcement of the law, hitherto a dead letter, which forbids the introduction of negroes for sale into Georgia. Curiously enough the Calhoun party, which makes States' Rights a cardinal principle, advocate, in this question, a doctrine which would compel the whole South to make common cause in defence of Slavery, and would deny to each State the right and the power to be governed by such a policy as she herself should believe might most conduce to her interests; while those who have never given in their adherence to the Calhoun faction contend that, in this matter, each State should look to her own interest without regard to the interests or wishes of her sister States. The arguments of the *Republic* are unanswerable. Slavery must cease to be profitable, and must inevitably be got rid of, if no outlet is permitted for its surplusage; and as a corollary to this doctrine comes that of extension of territory. But if it be seen that too much of Slavery is an evil;—that it wears out and impoverishes the land;—that the increase of its labour is a curse, and not, as labour should be in every state of society, a blessing, and a guaranty of the prosperity of the State;—that the rapid growth of the people is its worst condition;—that as mouths and hands multiply, it is as if there were two mouths to one hand, instead of two hands to one mouth;—then it will soon come to be discovered that it is the system itself, and not its accidents only, which make it an abomination and a desolation wherever it exists. And this a great many people at the South are beginning to understand. It is not difficult for them in Georgia, when they get to that point where they see clearly that only a certain number of slaves can be supported on her soil, to understand very clearly that she cannot suffer more, not because only a certain number is conducive to her prosperity, but because her burden is already as great as she can possibly stagger under. The *Chronicle* would see the money spent in slaves employed in building factories and paying operatives; and from the assertion that "industrious white labourers" "with machinery that eats nothing, needs no clothing, is never sick, and *will never run away*," can double or treble the value of a bale of cotton in Georgia, it is but a step to this—that the bale itself may be produced at half the cost by industrious *black* labourers who are permitted to feed themselves, allowed to buy as much and as good clothing as pleases them and not as suits the pockets of a master, in short, are stimulated by wages, and permitted to graduate their wants by the standard of their own earnings.

The discussion of this question of the Domestic Slave Trade is becoming, as we have said, more earnest in Southern papers since the publication of Mr. Clay's letter. The plan proposed by the distinguished Kentuckian excites alarm, on all sides. It is, of course, as offensive to those who believe with him that Slavery is no blessing, and therefore dread his plan of forcing the servile population of Kentucky upon the Southern States, as it is to those who see in the institution the power of the South, and hope to maintain and extend it, and believe him, therefore, to have abandoned them for their enemies. The comments which it draws forth, and the admissions which it compelsare both curious and instructive; and regarded as a provocative of discussion, which, in its turn, must lead to thought, the letter cannot fail to be of almost incalculable service. We take, for instance, the following article from the *New Orleans Crescent*,—italicising certain passages—which speaks, no doubt, the sentiments of a large portion of the people of that State:

We publish this morning the letter of HENRY CLAY on the subject of the proposed emancipation of the slaves of Kentucky by the Convention called to amend the Constitution of the State. We need not call attention particularly to this letter. The importance of the question discussed in it, the character of the writer, the distinguished position which he holds in the councils of the Republic, and the influence which he exercises over a large portion of the people, will insure for his opinions a general and attentive consideration. For ourselves, we must confess that we have not been able to find in the letter anything remarkable for originality of conception, or depth of thought. The want of wisdom which would be manifested by an immediate abolition of Slavery, is pointed out; and the propriety of removing the liberated slaves by colonization, is strongly urged. Of the first, there is no fear whatever, and we imagine that the last will never be necessary, if, as Mr. Clay recommends, the owner retain full power over his slaves between the time of the passage of the act and the distant day at which it is to be carried into effect, with the right "to sell, devise, or remove them from the State, and in the latter case without their offspring being entitled to the benefit of emancipation for which the system provides." Under such a scheme of emancipation, Slavery would certainly disappear from Kentucky, but it may well be doubted whether a hundred slaves or their offspring would be liberated. Kentucky might by such a system improve her physical condition and increase her political power; she might free her soil from one hundred and ninety thousand negro slaves, and supply their places with free white labourers, whose political influence would be more important, and whose labour would be more profitable; she might relieve herself of the responsibilities of a border slave State, and of the danger of becoming the theatre and bearing the brunt of a war waged for its extinction; but we doubt much whether she would ever justly acquire any additional title to the consideration and respect of the world, or evince any remarkable proofs of greatness or grandeur by passing a law for the emancipation of her slaves, while, at the same time, she provided the means of defeating that emancipation altogether. If the day for the beginning of the system of gradual emancipation be fixed for the year 1860, as recommended by the letter of Mr. Clay, and the proprietors in the interval retain all their rights, and particularly the right of removing their slaves from beyond the reach or operation of the system, we can see no other result than their banishment from Kentucky to other slaveholding States. The evils which would flow from such a course to the extreme South, we have referred to before, and it is unnecessary to particularise them here—with a lessened power of resistance, we should be exposed to more vigorous attacks, and would have among the number of our enemies, and perhaps the bitterest among them, the States which had but recently got rid of their slaves by forcing them upon us. It may be said that this sending of slaves out of the State would not be done by many of the people of Kentucky. That they would, on the contrary, endeavour in good faith to carry the law into execution. This is founded altogether on the assumption that the great body of the people of Kentucky are blessed with more generosity of disposition than falls to the lot of common mortals, where questions of pecuniary interest are involved; and we have not so much confidence in improbabilities as to repose any faith in its truth, or to rely at all upon results anticipated from it.

That Slavery will be abolished in Kentucky by the coming Convention there is now no doub

CONGRESS—THE TAYLOR POLICY—THE PROTOCOL.—The United States Senate has at length adjourned after a session of nineteen days, in which little has been done except to confirm the nominations sent in by the President. Among these it will be observed that the appointments for the territory of Minesota, a region bounded on the north by the 49th parallel of latitude, include a chief judge, and two associate judges, all of which, are from the South. Thus the enforcement of the Compromises is insured against all errant emigrants, "not white," from the South to Minesota. On the other hand the nomination of Mr. McGaughey, as Governor of that Territory, was rejected by the Senate. Mr. McGaughey, it will be remembered, when a member of Congress from Indiana, was one of the fourteen who voted against the bill with its "lying preamble" making appropriations to carry on the Mexican War. Such is the commencement of the new administration.

An attempt was made by Mr. Benton for some further investigation into the character of the Protocol to the Mexican Treaty, but without success, as the motion, after a good deal of debate in secret session, was laid on the table. This, however, is probably not the last of it. Mr. Benton is understood to have maintained that the Protocol was entered into before the ratification of the Treaty; that but for it the Treaty would not have been ratified; that, if a part of the Treaty, it should have been ratified by the Senate; and that in preserving it secret, the late administration acted in bad faith towards the Senate, towards the country, and towards Mexico, and that further action is required to preserve inviolate the faith of the nation. The affair may yet lead to renewed difficulty with Mexico. Respecting it the Washington correspondent of the *Evening Post* says:

It is rumoured outside of the chamber, and the rumour doubtless proceeds from the inside, that the Protocol has been the subject of an angry correspondence between the Mexican minister, Senor Rosas, and the State Department; that as soon as Mr. Polk transmitted his message to Congress, asserting in substance that the Protocol was a mere diplomatic device to facilitate the business of procuring the ratification of the treaty, and that it meant nothing and secured nothing, the Mexican minister addressed a note of a very decided character to the President, affirming that the Government of Mexico looked upon that instrument as an important modification of the treaty, and as the guarantee of rights and advantages which it could not willingly relinquish, and desiring to be informed whether the Government of the United States intended to repudiate its stipulation.

No reply was made to this communication. Her minister made another one of like import. To this Mr. Buchanan replied in accordance with the terms of the President's message to Congress. Her minister rejoined with a vigorous protest, in which he iterated the understanding under which the Protocol had been agreed to by his Government, and recited the consequences of the view taken by that of the United States. Thus the matter stood at the advent of General Taylor and Mr. Clayton; what has since taken place will probably appear in some subsequent development of the proceedings of the Senate in Executive session.

FREE LABOUR COTTON.—A correspondent of the (Glasgow) *British Friend* writes to that paper that the demand for free-labour cotton is slowly but steadily increasing in various parts of the empire, and that a supply is coming in to meet the demand. "At least five," he says, "of the West India islands are intending to grow cotton this year, on the strength of the rising movement in this country;" the principle supply from that quarter hitherto having been received from Barbadoes alone, whence thirteen bales arrived the last autumn. The information he gives upon this topic will be interesting to a class of our readers:

The samples of cotton that are coming over from the West Indies are exquisitely nice, and decidedly superior to the mass of American cotton; but the culture of cotton has been much neglected in those islands of late. Let them but return to it and the effect will work wonders. No produce is so suited to the position of the emancipated blacks (from but little capital being required;) their cotton is worth half as much again as the American, and from their crops not being liable to be cut off by frost, the plant stands the winter, which gives them greatly the advantage over the American slaveholders. The latter could not stand, with impunity, a vigorous growth of cotton in the British West Indies. It is not unlikely but that even the French islands may come in and assist us in this effort.

There is a very little cotton coming in from Natal, but not sufficient at present to turn to much account. In Tennessee, United States, trustworthy agents are being employed to pick up a little cotton here and there, from the free plantations scattered about among the large Slave estates. We consider that no part of the effort will *tell* more than this upon the American slaveholders. Fifty-three bales of this cotton (duty guaranteed) arrived in Liverpool three weeks since; and I rejoice to say, that two more lots, of sixty bales each, are also at sea. The former have been bought by the well known firm of Crewdson's, of Manchester, and are at this hour being made into Free Labour shirtings of two qualities.

FREE SOILISM IN NEW YORK—The Free Soilers of this city held their primary meetings last week, preparatory to the nomination of candidates for city officers. The *Globe* thus notices the feeling against the extension of Slavery which seemed to pervade most of the meetings:

"As an example of what was exhibited throughout the entire city, we copy two or three resolutions taken from the proceedings as they are published. The Third Ward spoke thus:

Resolved, That acknowledging the right of the Southern States to the full enjoyment of all their rights of property, as secured by our constitutional compact, we are opposed to the extension of Slavery into any territory of the United States now free, and that in this opposition we admit of no compromise.

The Fifth Ward Democrats proclaimed the following sentiments with the greatest acclamation and unity:

Resolved, That we adhere to our support of the entire Jeffersonian platform, including the essential principle of the non-extension of Slavery; and we will vote for no candidate not in favour of the truths embodied in that platform.

Resolved, That no union can be lasting unless based upon principle; and that, as it would be unwise for those who agree in principle to be divided, we shall regard the union of all such with pleasure.

The same sentiment and feeling predominated with enthusiasm in every Ward; and what is most animating, not a dissenting voice was heard in opposition.

It is a beautiful idea of Mr. Clay, that the emancipated slaves who shall colonise Liberia will probably spread the Christian religion through the whole Continent of Africa. It seems probable that such is the glorious mission for which they are destined, and should it so prove, it will not be in vain that the dusky sons of Africa have, like the children of Israel, dwelt long in the house of bondage.

We find this in the *New Bedford Mercury*, a paper which is fond of perpetrating just such "beautiful ideas" on all sorts of subjects—it evidently, indeed, cannot do anything else but prove itself first cousin to the genus jackass whenever it can get such an opportunity. The sailor who thought we might as well have no devil if he did not catch the slave-traders, would probably be irreverent enough also to think we might as well have no God, if He could not christianise Africa in any less clumsy way than by exposing her and her children to the slave-traders for three centuries.

QUEEN VICTORIA A SNUFF-TAKER.—"We perceive," says *Jerrold's Weekly News*, "that Messrs. C. Stiven and Son, of Laurencekirk, have been appointed snuff-box makers to the Queen." Will it be credited that this young woman, who has enjoyed the advantage of a good education, who is said to sing some, and to draw pictures worth stealing, who is the mother of a large and increasing family, and has access to some of the best society in London, to say nothing of her being a lady patroness at Almack's, is not only a snuff-taker, but carries a box!—*New York National Anti-Slavery Standard.*—[Our respected contemporary has understood this matter somewhat too literally. Neither is the Queen a lady patroness at Almack's. That she "sings some" and "draws pictures" is true enough.]—*Jerrold's News.*

We have no doubt she is a very notable and respectable young woman, and does up a good many of the chores about house, but we never said anything about her before. We never were guilty of the above nonsense. The Queen has as much right, we think, as any other woman to take snuff, if she chooses, and whether she does so or not is none of our business. If she does, however, we hope she does "carry a box." Where would she put the snuff if she did'nt?

DEATH OF BERNARD BARTON.—We observe the announcement, in English papers received by the Canada, the death of Bernard Barton the Quaker poet, at Woolbridge, Suffolk, England. We learn from the *Glasgow Friend* that he has been for some time indisposed, from, as it was supposed, disease of the heart, but previous to the attack which terminated in his death after an hour's illness, was not more unwell than usual. His age was 66.

The name of Bernard Barton is indissolubly connected with the Anti Slavery movement in Great Britain.

MR. DICKINSON'S SPEECH.—No one should pass by this speech thinking it an ordinary Congressional production. It is no such thing, and will well repay the trouble of reading. We have not for many a day seen a prettier bit of Pro-Slavery literature. The honourable Senator was too modest by half when he wished that he had been born in old Virginia. Nothing short of being a Congo "nigger-trader" would have ever satisfied his natural instincts.

THE REV. CHARLES AVERY, of Alleghany City, Pa. we learn from the Pittsburgh *Christian Herald*, has recently made a donation to the coloured people of the county, of a lot of land in that city, valued at $5,000, on which he has contracted to erect a building to cost $10,000, to be used as a college for coloured youths, male and female. This munificent gift is to be put in the hands of Trustees for the benefit of those to whom it is given.

Notes on New Books.

A SERMON TO THE MEDICAL STUDENTS, *delivered by* LUCRETIA MOTT, *at Cherry Street Meeting, Philadelphia, on First-day evening, Second month 11th*, 1849.] (*Revised Phonographic Report.*) *Philadelphia: For sale at W. B. Zeiber's, 3 South Third street, T. E. Chapman's, 1 South Fifth street, and at the Anti-Slavery office, 31 North Fifth street.* 1849.

We infer from this sermon that the Medical Students, who congregate in Philadelphia from all parts of the country to attend lectures at the schools, were invited by Mrs. Mott, at the close of the session, to assemble at Cherry Street Meeting to listen to a word of admonition which she felt called upon to give them. Her purpose was not to indoctrinate them with any particular theology, or—which would be more in keeping with her character—to warn them against all that which is popularly recognised as such, but to admonish them of the importance of certain questions of practical reform, and to urge them to assume a right position in regard to them, and show their faith thus by their works. The sermon itself is almost too brief for extracts, but the following passage, wherein she urged Anti Slavery upon the attention of her hearers will serve to show how faithfully she dealt with them:

* * * * * * * * * * *

It has been my privilege and pleasure to meet with some of you in the Anti-Slavery Rooms. When these have been disposed to come there, though perhaps from mere curiosity, to see what the despised Abolitionist was doing, I have been glad to meet them, and to offer such considerations as would induce a reflection upon the relation which they bear to our fellow beings in their own country and neighbourhood. This in view of many, is a subject of delicacy—lightly to be touched. Still it is an essential part of Christianity; and one object in asking your audience this evening, was to offer for your consideration some views connected with it, in the hope that you would at least patiently hear, and "suffer the word of exhortation."

There are many now looking at the subject of Slavery in all its bearings, who are sympathising with the condition of the poor and oppressed in our land. Although many of you may be more immediately connected with this system, yet it is coming to be regarded as not a mere sectional question, but a national and an individual one. It is interwoven throughout our country, into so much with which we have to do, that we may well acknowledge we are all, all "verily guilty concerning our brother." There is, therefore, the greater responsibility that we first examine ourselves and ascertain what there is for us to do in order that we may speedily rid ourselves of the great evil that is clinging to us. *Evil?*—this mighty *sin* which so easily besets us. There are those here who have had their hearts touched, who have been led to feel and have entered into sympathy with the bondman, and have known where the evil lies. I believe there is a work for you to do, when you return home, if you will be faithful to yourselves. You will be brought more deeply to enter into feeling with the poor and oppressed slave; you will find that the mission of the gospel is "to bind up the broken hearted, to preach deliverance to the captive." It would be a reflection upon the intelligence and the conscience of those who are here, to suppose that they would always resist the wisdom and power with which truth is speaking to their hearts upon this subject. There are many disposed to examine, to cultivate their minds and hearts in relation to their duties in this respect. May you be faithful, and enter into a consideration as to how far you are partakers in this evil, even in other men's sins. How far, by permission, by apology, or otherwise, you are found lending your sanction to a system which degrades and brutalises three millions of our fellow beings; which denies the rights of intelligent education, rights essential to them, and which we acknowledge to be dear to us.

Is this an evil that cannot be remedied? A remedy is nigh at hand, even at the door. The voice has been heard saying, "Proclaim liberty to the captive, the opening of the prison to them that are bound." "Proclaim ye liberty throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof." To this land peculiarly is this language applicable. In this land especially are we called to be faithful in this subject. Be true to your convictions of duty then, oh my brethren, and you will have the blessing of beholding your own country purged of this iniquity, and be brought to acknowledge that the divine hand of mercy and love has been stretched over our land.

[Here a few persons, irritated by this reference to the question of Slavery, left the meeting.]

It is not strange that the allusion to this subject should create some little agitation among you; and while I can but regret it, I stand here on behalf of the suffering and the dumb, and must express the desire, that there may be a disposition to hear and reflect, and then judge.—I speak unto those who have ears to hear, who have hearts to feel. May their understandings not be closed! May they be willing to receive that which conflicts with their education, their prejudices and preconceived opinions. The subject of Slavery you must know, is now agitating the country from one end to the other. The Church and the Legislative Hall are occupied with its discussion. It will be presented to you in all its various bearings, and let me urge such faithfulness to the light which you have, as shall prepare you to become able advocates for the oppressed. So shall the blessing descend upon you as well as upon those for whom the appeal is made. I should not be true to myself did I not thus urge this subject upon your consideration. When you have opportunities for meditation and reflection, when your feelings are soothed by the circumstances around you, may you be led to reflect upon your duties, and the responsibility of your position in society.

A few copies of this sermon are for sale at this office.

THE BOY OF MOUNT RHIGI. BY THE AUTHOR OF "REDWOOD," etc. etc. *Boston: Wm. Crosby and H. P. Nichols.* 111 *Washington st.* 1849. Miss Sedgwick is one of the few American authors the publication of whose works it is only necessary to announce. Newspaper criticism, at least, would be deemed uncalled for, if not impertinent, upon books which bear upon their title-page [the names of the "Poor-Rich Man," the "Home," &c. Should we venture the expression of an opinion, however, it would be that "The Boy of Mount Rhigi," is not equal in execution to some of her earlier works, though the idea of the story is one which will command the approbation of all those who would enlarge the circle of human sympathies, and embrace within it the outcast and the friendless, whom society has hitherto put under its ban, and forced the unhappy circumstances of early misfortune to ripen into a manhood of wretchedness and crime. The story is one of every-day, New England life, and its hero is one who, born of vicious parents, and nurtured in vice, at home and in a prison, was yet saved by the good influence of children of his own age, blessed with a different training, and free, above all, from the skin of contempt of thoseless fortunate than themselves. The lesson which it incidentally inculcates, that the life of a mechanic in the country is more respectable and and more healthful, both to mind and body, than the precarious position of a tradesman in a large city, is not the least valuable that it teaches.

The book is for sale at Appleton's in this city.

BLACKWOOD FOR MARCH. Several new chapters of the "Caxtons" appear in this Number—a work, by the bye, becoming so popular that a cheap edition of it has already appeared, so far as it has been published, and which, it is well enough to remember, must necessarily lag behind the reprint of Messrs. Scott & Co. who publish simultaneously with the Edinburg edition of Blackwood. The leading article is a valuable one upon Scientific and Practical Agriculture. "The Green Hand," is No. 11 of an exceedingly amusing sailor's 'yarn:' a review of Prosper Merimee's History of Peter the Cruel is excellent for its historical detail, as well as for its fullness of anecdote which makes one of the chief excellencies and peculiarities of the History; "After a Year's Republicanism" is, we fear, too faithful a picture of the present state of the French Republic; an article upon the *Contradictions Economique* of M. Prudhon, and another upon the Opening of the Session, finish the number.

Foreign Correspondence.

Letter from the West Indies.

KINGSTON, JAMAICA, 12th Feb. 1849.

MY DEAR SIR:—It has been a long time since I have written you on the great subject of the progress of freedom in the West Indies—a subject near and dear to every lover of Universal Emancipation; but I can only reiterate our old stereotype assertions, which are true as Holy Writ, and derived from the opinions of some of our greatest men in Church and State, and have now, therefore, nothing new to offer you.

For the last ten years I have resided in this island, and mixed very freely with all classes and colours, and I assert, without fear of contradiction, that whatever difficulties may effect and are now effecting the agricultural and commercial prosperity of our island, Emancipation has little to do with them. They are to be attributed solely to other causes, such as want of capital, agricultural and scientific knowledge, the proper divisions of estate, and prompt payment of labour. The expensive mode of conducting our properties is only suited to a state of Slavery. I know from personal observation, that the expense of management on your Southern rice and cotton plantations, with all the usual neglect of science in agriculture, and the extravagance of agencies, is 50 per cent cheaper than upon the estates in this island. Can it be expected that anything but loss will be the result when business is thus mismanaged? The fault is not in the poor black who works very hard for from 1s. 6d. to 9d. (sterling), per diem, and in a majority of cases has to wait from 3 to 12 months for it, and sometimes get only apart even of this small sum. Indeed I heard the other day from the Rev. Jno. Evans, Nassau, Baptist Missionary from America, that some in the rich parish of St. Thomas, in the East, are working for 6d. per day (12 1-2 cents).—What can be thought, by reasonable people, of men who give able bodied labourers such a price as this for hard labour, and then cry out, the blacks wont work! What would your hard working labourers think of *twelve and a half cents* per day! or even of 37 1-2 cents per day which they get in the more favourable districts? I presume there would be a general strike, and no work until good wages were given. But it is not so with the poor blacks of Jamaica. They work cheerfully though they cannot get their pay weekly as your labourers do; and if there is any place in the world (save Russia) where the free labourers are more ground down to the earth than in Jamaica I do not know it.

But enough of this truly lamentable state of things in our island. The middling classes of agriculturists and others that are happily rising into political power by purchase of small freeholds are rapidly curing these evils, and many years will not pass before the oppressors will cease their long abuses, and the people through education and property establish a more just Government; or another race than the present whites will rule the destiny of Jamaica. For I am very happy to inform you that our emancipated population are rapidly improving in secular and religious knowledge, and that by great economy and hard labour they are acquiring property while their former owners are sinking every day through extravagance.

Our Assembly here has been in session since the 23d of last month, and the old planters' party have attempted to create a schism by stopping the usual annual supplies, and leaving us without a revenue, that the Home Government may be thereby compelled to restore the old high protective duties. But they happily abandoned it, seeing the uselessness of contending with the people of England who are determined to have cheap sugar, and consider it high time that the planters, like the manufacturers and artisans, ought to be left to their own energies and skill; and not depend on the old exploded system that only leads to inactivity and indulgence.

Another symptom of the want of feeling for the mass of people is, that instead of reducing our very heavy import duty bill they have increased it, and at a time of great distress amongst the middling and lower classes.—But the day of reckoning is drawing near.

The liberal party will ere long be able to secure a large majority in the House that will study the interests of the people, by adopting enlightened measures for the prosperity of the island, removing the heavy burdens that they now endure, procuring the abolition of sinecures, and reducing the high salaries, by which men are now paid at a rate incommensurate with the duties performed. It is now a great struggle with the true friends of the people to carry out these reforms, without which they cannot enjoy what are really their rights and privileges; but ere long better days will dawn for Jamaica.

Yours, very truly,

H. W. D.

General Intelligence.

Foreign News.

Fourteen Days Later from Europe.

ARRIVAL OF THE CANADA.

The steamship *Canada* arrived at this port on Sunday last. Her news is important and interesting.

On the 26th Mr. Cobden's motion in the House of Commons for the reduction of the expenditures was lost by a vote of 275 to 78.

The Irish Poor Law is still under discussion. Mr. D'Israeli has made an important move to lessen the burden of taxes upon the agricultural interest.

On the 23d ultimo the Jews' Disabilities bill passed the House of Commons.

Sir Charles Napier has been appointed Commander-in-Chief in India, superseding Lord Gough.

A frightful shipwreck has taken place on the Long Sands, Essex Coast, England, of which we copy the following particulars:

The vessel lost was the bark *Floridian*, 500 tons burden, Capt. E. D. Whitmore master, from Antwerp. She was the property of Mr. E. D. Hurlbut, of New York, and had been chartered by a German company for the conveyance of emigrants to the United States. She sailed from Antwerp on the previous Sunday, when she left that port and proceeded down the river. She did not, however, finally take her departure from the coast until Tuesday last. The number of emigrants that had taken passage by her at Antwerp, and had come on board before her weighing anchor, is stated to have been from 170 to 200. They comprised German agricultural labourers with their wives and families, and many mechanics; among the number on board were from 50 to 60 women, and between 20 and 30 children.

The ship was worked by a crew of nearly 20, part of whom were Englishmen, a surgeon being on board. It was late on Tuesday evening when the Floridian put out to sea, at which time the weather was fine. The course taken after clearing the Flemish banks was westward for the Straits of Dover. At midnight the wind shifted round to the S. W. blowing very hard with a fall of hail and snow, and so heavy was the fall that it became impossible to see the length of the vessel. They tacked ship and bore to the N. W. until four on Wednesday morning, and then altered her course. Daybreak brought fearful weather; the wind had sprung up terrifically, with a great fall of snow and a heavy rolling sea on. At about eight the chief mate expressed some misgivings as to the course they were then pursuing, it being their intention to make for the South Foreland Lights; and calling to the second officer, requested him to take charge of the watch while he went below to look to his directory.

Scarcely had he quitted his post before the ship struck with such force that her planks and false keel immediately rushed up alongside—the emigrants hastened on deck in frantic dismay. Within a few moments of the vessel striking, the sea broke into her hull, driving up the hatchways and sweeping many of the poor creatures overboard, while others were drowned in their berths, being unable to rise from sea-sickness. Capt. Whitmore gave orders to his men to launch the boats, which were carried out with despatch, but they were utterly inefficient for the purposes of saving all on board; they were not capable of containing even one-third of the emigrants. The first boat broke adrift the moment she was launched, and it is said capsized directly, with two men who were in her. The moment the second boat was lowered, the Captain jumped into it with Mrs. Whitmore, his wife. This led to a desperate rush toward the craft. Some 20 or 30 poor creatures, men and women, leaped from the quarter deck of the foundering ship into the boat. The result was that it also instantly capsized, and the whole party were precipitated overboard and instantly lost.

There being now no possible means of escape left for those on board, the crew took to the rigging, to which they lashed themselves, and upward of 100 of the emigrants congregated on the quarter deck. Here they had not been more than an hour, before the ship broke in two amidships. The mainmast fell over the side, and a tremendous sea carried away the whole of the quarter deck, with the mass of human beings on it. By great efforts 8 or 10 were rescued by the men who had secured themselves in the rigging. The moment the ship broke in two, her cargo floated, and men, women, and children were floating about on the packages. Ere night had set in, however, all had disappeared. The then survivors, about 13 in number, continued in the rigging of the foremast, (which, with the forepart of the vessel, was all that remained of the wreck,) the whole of the night, enduring the greatest suffering. The sea kept breaking over them, and the cold being most intense, rendered their condition the most painful.

When Thursday morning broke, it was discovered that six of the poor fellows had died, apparently from cold in the course of the night, and their bodies were dangling in the rigging. All that day the same fearful weather continued, and no aid could be rendered those who still floated in the rigging. They could see vessels passing in the distance, but they were too far off for the crews to observe their situation. Thursday night and the greater portion of Friday passed away, yet no help came. Only four now remained, three sailors and one passenger, the other two were frozen to death in the course of the preceding day and night. About 7 on the third evening the revenue cutter Petrel came to the aid of the survivors. The crew belonging to her, by direction of the commanding officer, lowered their boat and pushed off to the spot—the heavy surf beating round the wreck in such a manner as to render the running of the cutter alongside the wreck exceedingly dangerous. After considerable difficulty the poor fellows were got off and taken on board the cutter, where everything was done for their comfort. The names of the seamen saved are Henry Hill, William Harry, and a Swede, name unknown. The fourth is one of the emigrants, apparently a mechanic. He has been deranged ever since he has been landed.

A Colchester vessel lost five hands in a laudable attempt to rescue some of the sufferers. The crew saw the quarter deck carried away with the emigrants on it. They immediately pushed off in their boat with a view of saving some of the drowning creatures, but had scarcely got a few strokes when a heavy sea caught their craft, upset it, and the whole of the poor fellows were drowned.

The revenue cutters which returned to Harwich have reported that not a vestige of the wreck remains, the whole had been swallowed up in the sands. A great number of dead bodies had been seen floating about. The fact of most of them being naked, leads to the presumption that they had been previously picked up and stripped of their clothing.—Many were known to have had large sums of money about their persons—some to the extent of £300 and £400.]

A large number of wreckers were seen in the vicinity of the wreck after the survivors had been taken off by the Petrel, and with the exception of some of the cargo that has been landed at Ramsgate and Margate, no other portion has been reported to the customs. On the authority of the Coast Guard Service, it is stated that a desperate gang of wreckers infest this part of the coast.

The Harwich correspondent of the *Times* (Wednesday) says: A very strong current sets in on the Long Sands, and by many it is inferred that the *Floridian* being hove to, was carried by the current to the fatal spot. It is scarcely three months since the *Burgundy*, with upwards of 250 emigrants, was lost on the same sands, but in that instance all the passengers were rescued by boats from this port. A bundle of letters, apparently belonging to one of the chief cabin passengers in the *Floridian*, has been picked up by a foreign coaster and delivered to the Belgian Consul at Deal. Six or eight experienced divers are collected over the wreck, with a view of recovering more of her cargo. It is doubtful if they will succeed, the shoal being similar to the Goodwin quicksand, which in a few tides swallows up everything cast away on it.

The news from the Continent is important. We copy the summary sent forward by Express from Halifax:

Perhaps the most striking feature is the march of the Imperial Guards of Russia from St. Petersburg.

These men, mustering 52,000 strong, have not quitted the Capital since 1831, and they have proceeded through Wilma to the frontier, and will no doubt take such a position as to be able to keep in check the disaffected Poles on the Prussian frontier, support the Imperialists in the Hungarian struggle, and assume such an attitude as shall plainly indicate the intention of the Czar to control as much as possible any disposition to revive the scene which so unhappily occurred during the last year.

A Russian note has appeared, in which the Czar declares his resolution of adhering firmly to the treaty of 1815, and any attempt to infringe them, he shall deem a *casus belli*.

The entrance of 10,000 Russians into Austrian Transylvania only evidences the disposition of the Czar, and who assuredly will not consent to any change in the territorial districts of Italy, unless with the entire consent of Austria.

The armistice of Malone will cease after the 26th of March, and the king of Prussia declares that he will no longer be bound by it.

The Danes are ready to resume hostilities.

They are concentrating large forces at Koldnig. It is very doubtful, however, whether the belligerents will again come to blows; we cannot doubt but that the Danish right to the Dutchies will be maintained inviolate.

Russia has refused to admit the Schleswig Holstein vessels into her ports unless under the Danish flag.

The King of Prussia opened the Chambers on the 26th ult. The royal speech proposes no particular feature.

The Austrian war in Hungary has proceeded with variable success in the south of Hungary. The German population, finding the insurgents carrying destruction in every quarter, called on the Russians, who now occupy Constadt and Hermanstadt.

Several serious battles have taken place, one in the neighbourhood of Oilan lasting two days, with considerable slaughter, and the Imperialists seemed to have had the advantage.

Reports have been circulated that in one engagement Bem had both his legs shot off, but the last report is that he had left Transylvania for Hungary.

As the insurgent troops amount to 140,000 men, split up into various divisions, it is difficult to ascertain the actual progress of the war, the termination of which still seems to be very doubtful.

Whilst Austria is pushing on the war in Hungary, she is not unmindful of Italian affairs. She has marched a body of troops into Ferrara, and seized upon the city, and levied a fine of 29,000 scudi, which she handed over to the Pope.

The revolution of Tuscany is complete: The republic has been proclaimed at Leghorn.

Florence and a central Italian republic has been formed in union with the Romans.

The Grand-Duke has protested against this revolution, and has entreated all the powers of Europe, to refuse to recognize the new authority, which he declares to be a violation of the Constitution, agreed to by all parties last year committed by a factious minority.

The news from Italy we give in full.

ITALY.

The Austrians at Ferrara.

On the 18th ultimo, a body of Austrians crossed the Po, and entered the fortress at mid-day under General Haynau, who received a municipal deputation, to whom he gave in writing a declaration as to the intent of the movement of the Austrian troops. This declaration stated that reparation was demanded for cutting off the communications with the citadel, for the murder of three Austrian soldiers on the 7th instant, for an insult to the Austrian Consul, and finally for the proclamation of the Republic. The conditions imposed by the Austrian General were as follows: 1. The surrender of the gates of the town. 2. The delivery of the authors of the murders within 24 hours. 3. The destruction of the barriers. 4. The maintenance of the troops, said to amount to 10,000 men, during the time of their remaining. 5. The abandonment of the military hospital. 6. The payment of 200,000 crowns, and 6,000 crowns indemnity to the Austrian Consul. 7. Restoration of the Papal arms. 8. The delivery of six citizens as hostages for the fulfilment of conditions. According to the *Alba*, the Ferrarese have been compelled to pay the required contribution, partly in cash, and partly in bills on Trieste and Milan. It seems uncertain whether the Austrians have occupied the town of Ferrara, or whether they have merely entered the citadel, and confined themselves to levying the contribution, and imposing the other conditions.

Confiscation of Church Property—Doings of the Assembly.

In the sitting of the Roman Constituent Assembly, on the 13th, the Minister Sterbini, in the name of the Minister of Finance, presented a bill providing that all ecclesiastic property shall henceforward belong to the State; and that all alienation of the said property, whether real or moveable, shall be considered null and void. A project was moved by Deputy Tantini to the same effect, but directing also that proper provision should be made for the support of public worship and that the estates of the Church shall be granted to agriculturists upon a ground rent. The first and third articles of the Ministerial measure were voted; and the others, with the counter project, were sent to the Committees. Among other bills that have been submitted to the Roman Assembly, are measures for the abolition of all Ecclesiastical Courts, and every clerical privilege and exemption in matters of criminal jurisprudence; the declaration of universal freedom of conscience throughout the territories of the Republic; the melting of superfluous church bells far the augmentation of the National Artillery; the immediate establishment of an entrenched camp on Monte-Mario, which commands the northern entrance of Rome, and the temporary demolition of some arches of the Milvin bridge. Letters from Rome, to the 17th ultimo state that the Prince of Canino had been elected Vice-President of the Republic. On the 16th about 400 persons sat down to a Democratic dinner on Mount Palatine, on the site of the palace of the Cæsars, with the usual accompaniment of bands, banners and speeches.

At the sitting of the Roman Constituent Assembly on the 18th of February, bills were presented by M. Mazoni, for the sale of *espanage* lands to the amount of 200,000 crowns; for the emission of 1,200,000 scudi, in bank notes, with forced currency; and a forced loan, according to the amount of income from 2,000 crowns upward, in the proportion of from one fifth to two-thirds. The Minister Rusconi, in reply to a question, stated that the protest of Pius IX. had been received, but not officially. This document was afterward read, by order of the Assembly, amid a general and enthusiastic cry of "Viva la Republique!" A question was then asked concerning the relations existing between Rome, Tuscany, and Piedmont. Minister Rusconi stated, in reply, that the feeling between Rome and Tuscany was most cordial, and that the relations with Piedmont were not in a bad state; the Roman envoys had indeed been ordered to leave the country, but without fixing a day for their departure, and they had received their passports before the Republic had been proclaimed. Letters from Rome, to the 24th ultimo state that a corps of seventeen thousand Neapolitan troops was reported to have arrived within a few miles of the Roman frontier, at Fondi a place not far from Terracina. About 25,000 Roman troops were distributed between Rome and the same frontier, under Guribaldi. All the Austrian property in Rome had been confiscated, as a retaliation for the contributions lately levied by the Austrians, at Ferrara. On the 21st the Assembly decreed the confiscation of the entire property of the church. The parish clerks only were to have salaries paid to them by the State. The salaries of all the cardinals, except five, who continued to reside within the Roman territory, were suspended. The Minister of Foreign Affairs had addressed a protest, in a circular to the diplomatic corps, dated Rome, the 21st ult. against the invasion of Ferrara by the Austrians, and their conduct there.

The Pope has published a proclamation, warning persons not to purchase any church property that may be offered for sale by the Roman Republican Government.

The Pope Demands Intervention.

La Presse announces that the Pope, after having consulted the Sacred College, has applied to the Governments of France, Austria, Spain and Naples, for an armed force to enable him to return to his capital.

Austria, it is said, is determined to proceed, in concert with Naples, to restore the Pope, more especially as not only the Catholic powers of Bavaria and Belgium, but the Protestant powers of England, Prussia, and Wirtemberg, offer to preserve the Papal Government in the interest of the balance of power in Europe, and the general peace.—It is calculated the appearance on the Roman territory of an army of 10,000 men would be sufficient to bring about the restoration of the Pope without firing a shot.

The *Epoca*, of Rome, of the 25th ultimo, states from Naples that the British Minister, Temple, had protested against Neapolitan intervention in the Roman States.

Letters from Rome, by Vienna, announce that Austria has offered the Pope aid in men and money. The Czar has declared himself in his favour. The Pope is said to have obtained a loan of six millions of scudi in Russia.

The Finance Committee was to present, on the 24th ultimo, its report to the Assembly as to the forced loan. It demands that the loan should be fixed at three millions of crowns, of which Rome was to contribute 863,000, and Bologna 400,000. It was stated to be the intention of the Government to take into its pay the Franco Italian republican legion of Paris, which was some time since dissolved.

The intelligence from India is of great interest. The English have met with what in fact, can only be held as a most disastrous defeat in a battle with the Sikhs. The conflict occurred on the banks of the river Ihelum, and near the very spot which 2000 years ago formed the battle-field of Alexander and Porus. The *Bombay Telegraph and Courier* gives the following account.

INDIA.

Fall of Mooltan—Sanguinary Battle between the British and Sikh Forces.

At the date of our last summary, Lord Gough, with his army, was encamped at Janiki, waiting in expectation to hear of the fall or surrender of Mooltan, the receipts of which tidings it was generally believed would be the signal for an onward movement. The siege operations, however, proceeding more slowly than was anticipated, and circumstances appearing to render farther delay inadvisable, the commander-in-chief seems to have altered his intention, and to have determined on attacking Shere Singh's position before obtaining news of the success of General Whish. The British troops moved from their position on the 9th instant, and took up new ground at a place called Lusoree, about five miles to the right, and two miles to the front of their former camp. Having been joined, on the 11th, by Brigadier Penny, with the 6th brigade of infantry, and having on the same day undergone an inspection by the commander-in-chief, the whole force moved, on the morning of the 12th, from Lusoree to Dinghee. Next morning, orders were issued for a farther advance. A communication dated the 14th instant, says:

"The army marched yesterday at half-past 7 o'clock, in order of battle, and moved about three miles to the north-west across the country, which was pretty well furnished with scattered bushes, passing a village whose name I have forgotten, and Burra Umra to Chota Umra. Here a halt of an hour and a quarter took place, and the baggage was ordered to remain at this village for the present. From this spot could be seen part of the Sikh camp near Russolpore, about three or four miles in front, on a low wooded ridge. At a quarter to 10 the army advanced again, and moved for an hour, passing over perhaps about three miles of ground, taking a more westerly direction than before, and leaving the ridge just mentioned on the right hand."

We now proceed to lay before our readers the connected account of the battle, compiled by the *Delhi Gazette*, from the letters of its correspondents:

"About 11 A. M. the force came upon one of the outposts of the enemy, and were fired upon from a slight eminence above the rest of the jungle, which, though there in dense small patches, admitted of an easy passage between the masses. The heavy guns, with three horse batteries, were ordered in front to clear the ground, an operation that did not take more than five or ten minutes, the enemy retreating with their guns, but leaving their tents standing. The column again advanced, and marched over the ground on which the Sikh picket had been posted; but instead of continuing their march in the direction of Russool, as originally intended and arranged, the commander-in-chief suddenly changed his plan of operations, brought up the right, and deployed his infantry line in front generally of the position at Moong, thus showing the Sikhs that their strong post was no longer threatened. No enemy being at the time in sight, though their camp was in full view, and distant only between two and three miles on a rising ground with the jungle between, the order was given for the marking out the British camp for the day, and the colour-men were actually engaged in this duty when, about 2 P. M. a round shot or two from the enemy, which flew over the line of demarcation of the camp, and fell close to the commander-in-chief, showing that the place was by no means eligible for a halt. Observing this, Lord Gough determined at once on attacking, without however, having taken the previous usual and necessary precaution of ascertaining by a *reconnoissance* in that direction, where the strength of the enemy actually lay (and without making the smallest preliminary arrangements for the advance) After a cannonade, which is variously estimated to have lasted between one and two hours, the left or Brigadier-General Campbell's division were directed to make a flank movement, and in obeying exposed their own flank to a dreadful cross fire from Sikh batteries on their left, which had not been observed, and the 3d and 4th brigades, the latter being considerably in advance on the occasion, ultimately reaching the guns, they were met by such a tremendous fire that they were obliged to retire with a loss, in Her Majesty's 24th foot, more severe than any it has ever fallen to the lot of a regiment in India to suffer in the field. (we do not, of course, include the Cabul massacre.) As soon as it was known that these two brigades were engaged, the fifth was sent against the centre of what was supposed to be the enemy's line, and advanced, under their gallant leader, Brigadier Mountain, in the most undaunted manner, through the jungle in the face of a fire (a storm,) first of round shot, then grape, and lastly musketry, which mowed down the officers and men by dozens. Still they advanced, and on reaching the guns, spiked every one in front, and two others on the left which had subsequently opened a flank fire on them; but the Sikhs no sooner saw they were deprived of the use af their guns, than they renewed such a fire with musketry, not only on the flank but in the rear of the brigade, that common prudence dictated a retreat and it was effected with the same determination that had distinguished the three brigades on the left throughout. In the meantime, Brigadier Godby, with Major General Sir W. Gilbert as a leader who was on the extreme right of the infantry line moved forward, and after marching through a dense jungle for some minutes, came upon the enemy's infantry; the brigade opened their fire, but the enemy were in such numbers that they easily outflanked them. Two companies of the second European regiment were wheeled up, showed front, and the whole charged, but had not gone far when they found they were surrounded. They immediately faced right about, kept up some file firing, and charged rear rank and front. At this juncture Dawe's battery came to the rescue, and having beat off the enemy, their guns were taken While the infantry were thus highly distinguishing themselves, and earning imperishable laurels, the cavalry on the extreme left, under Brigadier White, had made a dashing charge, and contributed much to the defeat of the enemy, while the cavalry on the extreme right, consisting of Brigadier Pope's force, with the 14th light dragoons temporarily attached, were directed to charge a body of the enemy's cavalry, variously estimated at from 1,000 to 5,000. Instead of obeying the orders given them, they faced about, and, in spite of the energetic endeavours of their own and other officers, left the field, (with the exception of a body of the 9th lancers, who were rallied), and made direct for the artillery; on coming up to which, instead of pulling up, they dashed through Hulsh's and Christie's troops, upsetting a wagon and some horses, and directing their course to the field hospital. The enemy, seeing the advantage they had thus unaccountably insured, followed our cavalry, got among the horse artillery, cut down no less than 73 gunners, who had, by the flight

Miscellany.

From Chambers Journal.

A WALK AMONG THE EAST OF LONDON JEWS.

We had occasion the other day to wait for a brief space near the India House, in Leadenhall street.—Time passes but slowly with the listless lounger of the pavement, so it did with us. We inspected ten times over the stores of nautical instruments, the masses of ready-made clothes for the hurried emigrant, the libraries of books of colonial interest, the plates of Indiamen in hurricanes off the Cape, and of apocryphal naval battles, wherewith most of the shop windows in that most maritime of the city thoroughfares are stocked; and at length, tired of what we saw, turned down St. Mary Axe into the great Jewish colony of London.

It is not a savory locality the city Ghetto. Picturesqueness and dirt, however, frequently go together, and here assuredly were both. For hundreds of years the labyrinth of small, crooked streets, blind lanes, and tortuous passages, ending in tiresome *cul de sacs*, which stretches away north of Leadenhall street, has been inhabited, as it is inhabited now, by Jews. The ancestors of the bearded men you meet lived and died in those quaint, dirty, high-gravelled houses about you. For hundreds of years the Passover has been kept in these streets, and the probability is that it will be observed there hundreds of years to come. Everything about you is entirely and essentially Jewish. Five minutes' walk has brought you from a Christian city to a Judaic colony. It is not a solitary example of such isolated colonies. Every now and then, in exploring the swarming regions of Eastern London, you come upon a cluster of Jewish lanes. You may know them by the almost universally-opened windows, by the men and women seated in chairs upon the pavement before their dwellings—perhaps a memorial of the patriarchal times when every man sat under his own fig-tree—by the dingy shops of second-hand wares, the clusters of dirty frippery hung from door-posts, the plates of oil-fried fish displayed in the cook-shops, and the masses of old iron and fusty rags blurred phials with unwholesome breath, and all the chaos of grimey odds and ends which go to make up the stock in trade of the dealer in marine stores.

The West End Jews are few and less characteristic, being in general more or less fallen off from the nation. Many, in point of fact, are in no way distinguishable from the classes of English gentry; they are in reality Englishmen, only of Jewish descent, and of the ancient Hebrew faith; and that such persons, not to speak of the Jews generally, do not possess all the ordinary privileges of the British subjects, is by no means creditable to our national polity. To neither the Hebrew gentlemen, nor the Hebrew merchants and tradesmen in the central and western parts of the metropolis, can we refer for the true Jewish characteristics. We must look to the Jew in the East as the true object of interest. He lives where his father lived; he drives the trade his father drove; he marries a woman of his own race; and sends his children to the synagogue to do after him what he has done himself. Such is the class of people you meet about the "Clothes Mart" of Leadenhall street. To the eye accustomed to the polished Judaism of the Quadrant or the Haymarket, these East End Caucasians appear exaggerated Jews. Noses seem more hooked, ringlets more greasily black, and eyes more piercingly lustrous. Everything about their quarter wears a dirty, slovenly, yet bustling aspect. The houses are old and high, and appear crumbling and fading away. There is a damp, fusty odour lingering over the whole district. The glimpses you catch of old stained wooden panelings and musty, moth-eaten window-curtains, bring up unpleasant associations of spiders spinning undisturbed, of ancient hereditary black beetles, and other hunters of places unsavoury. These suspicious mansions are evidently crowded from the ground to the roof. Unshorn men in their shirt-sleeves, smoke at the opened windows; children go screaming about the doors; dirty drabs of women shout to each other from house to house; and knots of men, many of them bearded, all of them black-haired and black-eyed, lounge round the thresholds, bargaining and disputing in that harsh, snivelling, Jewish accent, which makes you somewhat doubt whether those who use it be speaking English or no. And thus you fish your way along the guttery stones, amid rotting vegetables, fish offals, well churned and trampled mud, and a host of other abominations, turning from one narrow dirty lane into another, catching glimpses of close-confined courts and narrow, sodden wynds, with yellowish-hued linen fluttering aloft from poles, and everywhere surrounded by the same piles of high, grimey houses, smoke-hued, and reeking with hot fetid vapours.

At length, perhaps you will turn unexpectedly into a small square. Instantly you feel that you are in a new hemisphere. Although still on Jewish ground, you have left behind you the smell of fish, and the frowzy odours of old clothes to experience in exchange an intense effusion of the perfume of oranges. You tread on something soft, and perceive that you are trampling upon a small mountain of orange-peel mingled with mashy lumps of soft and decayed fruit. All round you are orange shops, or rather stalls—dark, dismal places—on which you can see piles of the fruit arranged upon low tables and counters, and superintended by dirty Jewish boys and as dirty Jewish matrons. You are in the Orange Change, where all the itinerant Hebrew dealers in the fruit come to purchase their stocks, and whence they roll it about on their barrows through all wide London. The houses of the square are of much the same class as those we have been describing. A tavern at the corner boasts a sign, decorated with Hebrew inscriptions and Jewish symbols; and if you look about, you will recognise, what you never see on the dead walls of any other parts of London, placards couched partially, or altogether in the Hebrew language, and addressed to the "Jewish public." Many of these documents refer to cakes, meats, and other viands in exclusive use amongst the Jews, principally at their times of religious festivity. You will be sure to see advertisements of "Cosher Rum," and "Motsos"—the latter being, we believe, the appellation of the Passover cakes of unleavened bread. Here and there too you will observe a newsvender's or bookseller's shop, full of Hebrew literature, and generally displaying in the windows the extended sheets of Jewish journals, of which there were, until lately, two, now reduced to one; very little, if at all, known beyond the Israelitish community.

Leaving the Orange Mart, and proceeding some little way westward, we come upon another distinctive feature of the district—the Clothes Mart. Here is the very centre of the trade carried on throughout all London in old clothes. The tribe of shabby, black-muzzled hawkers, who wander from street to street, shouting their monotonous chant of "Old clo'!" bring their treasures of cast-off raiment here. Running along and across broad yards, are squares and rows of rickety old sheds, with benches and frames for exposing the peculiar merchandise to the best advantages; whole streets or avenues, it may be said, of shabby-genteel garments; crowded by a multitude of shabbier-living men, chaffering over their wares, exalting or depreciating their merits, disputing about the texture of a stuff, accosting likely customers, pushing, bustling, laughing, and joking. The buyers and the sellers group, and swarm, and cluster around throngs of dark, mildewy-looking men, most of them with their professional black bags over their shoulders. Nor, outside the mart, is the activity and bustle less great: there venders and purchasers are seen going in groups to cement their bargains in the low-browed, dark public-houses; the narrow street is choked up by the carts and barrows of sellers of vegetables and fish; slatternly women scream and scold over slimy piles of flounders, and soft, sodden lumps of salmon; and cheap cook-shops are crowded by amateurs of skimmering; three-days-stewed meat, and pies of unknown materials; barefooted urchins drive hard bargains with apple-women and baked-potato men, or perhaps over the trays of whelks and periwinkles deposited upon hampers at every corner. Alternating with these cheap provision-shops and stands are magazines of old iron, brokers' establishments, and grimey coal and potato sheds; while, crowding backwards and forwards, chattering and hallowing, there swarms hither and thither the coarse, dirty, Jewish population, only broken here and there by the blue uniform of the policeman, who stands with all his eyes about him at the corner, or by the stately form, and the long, flowing robes of the rabbi, as he slowly picks his way amid his flock to the neighbouring synagogue.

Altogether the scene is a strange, but not a pleasing one. Dirt is the prevailing feature—dirt in the street, dirt in the houses, dirt in the men and women. Pity it is that of all their Oriental customs, cleanliness should be almost the only one which the Jews have entirely forgotten. Yet they look content and happy in their foulness; reflecting, no doubt, that as good a bargain can be made in tainted air, as in the wholesomest breeze. That important point settled, the Jews, although they may make an article of merchandise of soap, appear to consider it as a commodity with which they have no other necessary connection.

From the New Monthly Magazine.

THEODORE HOOK.

Theodore Hook may be said to have been nurtured in a hot-bed of talent, wit, and dissipation. His father was a musical composer and an established favourite, for upwards of half a century; first at Maryle-bone Gardens, and, lastly, at Vauxhall. His mother was the author of at least one theatrical piece. "The Double Disguise," played with success at Drury Lane in 1784. There were two brothers, James and Theodore, and the elder, although sent to Westminster School, and afterwards to Oxford, where he graduated and took holy orders, and became ultimately Dean of Worcester, still exhibited, throughout life the wit and vivacity of the stock, and the same indications of the family taste for the drama and authorship. But James was blessed with advantages which never fell to the lot of Theodore; in his case the inebriety of wit was sobered by a regular education, and the exuberance of animal spirits was restrained by the ties of his sacred calling, which were further strengthened by an early and happy marriage. "Who," asks his biographer, the Rev. R. H. Dalton, Barham, "does not lament that such a boon was denied to Theodore?"

The first school that Theodore, born on the 22d of September, 1788, in Charlotte street, Bedford Square, was sent to, was a sort of "seminary for young gentlemen," a green-door, brass-plated, "establishment," in Soho Square. Subsequently, he went to Dr. Curtis's, and thence to Harrow, but with little or no real advantage, and as his biographer justly remarks, a sufficient reason for his want of success is to be found in the confessions of "Gilbert Gurney," where he says, with evident reference to himself: "My school life was not a happy one. I was idle and careless of my tasks. I had no aptitude for learning languages. I hated Greek, and absolutely shuddered at Hebrew. I fancied myself a genius, and anything that could be done in a hurry, and with little trouble, I did tolerably well, but application I had not."

And who can fail to discover throughout life, and even in employments less distasteful to him, traces of the same haste and impatience of labour? Theodore soon left Harrow, and the death of his mother, the only one who could restrain the youth's exuberance of spirits, left him in the charge of a worldly, pleasure-loving father, who at once employed his son's talents in writing songs and plays. The success of his first farces, and his love of fun, soon established Master Theodore's reputation, both before and behind the curtain, and he became at this early period of his life, the pet of the green-room, and at the same time, by his incessant indulgence in practical jokes, the plague of the property-man and of all the minor officers of the establishment. Even Liston himself was made one of the victims of this besetting propensity.

"Having procured a bladder with a penny whistle attached to it, after the fashion of a bagpipe, Hook made his way under the stage during the performance of the 'Finger Post,' and introducing the orifice of the tube into the opening of the 'float,' close to Liston's foot, as the latter was about to commence his song, 'When I fell into the pit of love,' proceeded to elicit from his apparatus the most discordant squeaks imaginable, by way of accompaniment, not more to the amusement of the audience than the bewilderment of the actor, who could not conceive whence on earth, or under the earth, the sounds proceeded. The song was tumultuously encored, and mystified as he was, Liston of course had no alternative but to repeat it, his unseen assistant squeezing and squeaking the while more vigorously than ever."

At this early time, also, when he was scarcely in his twentieth year, Theodore Hook gave evidence of the possession of that talent which he afterwards cultivated to so much perfection, and compared with which, mimicry in its perfection sinks into insignificance—that of the improvisatore. In the art of pouring forth extemporaneous poetry, music and words, rhymes and reason, all impromptu, Hook stood alone—rival he had none.

"Of course (says his biographer) he had his imitators:

'The charming extempore verses of T——s's,' for example, will not readily be forgotten; another gentleman also found reason to remember his attempt at rivalry. Ambitious of distinction, he took an opportunity of striking off into verse immediately after one of Hook's happiest efforts. Theodore's bright eye flashed, and fixed on the intruder, who soon began to flounder in the meshes of his stanza, when he was put out of his misery at once by the following couplet from the master, given, however, with a good humoured smile that robbed it of all offence:

'I see, sir, I see sir, what 'tis that you're hatching,
But mocking, you see, sir, is not *always* catching.'

This is a kind of success which is, however, pre-eminently evanescent. Men endowed with such gifts must be content, like actors, whom they in a measure resemble, with the applause of their contemporaries: they have little to hope for from posterity; and in Hook's case scarcely a record has been kept of any one of those performances which used at once to delight and astonish the circles in which he moved. "Mrs. Muggin's Visit to the Queen," stanzas written in the John Bull as a satire upon the Brandenburgh House drawing-room, is described in the "Quarterly Review," as also by Mr. Dalton Barham, as most approaching what Hook used to improvise on a festive evening, and as conveying to a person who had never witnessed that marvellous performance, a tolerably accurate notion of what it was.

"Have you been to Brandenburgh—heigh,
ma'am; ho, ma'am?
Have you been to Brandenburgh, ho?
—Oh, yes; I have been, ma'am,
To visit the Queen, ma'am,
With the rest of this gallantry show—show,
With the rest of the gallantry show.

"And who were your company—heigh,
ma'am; ho, ma'am?
And who were your company, ho?
—We happened to drop in
With *gemmen* from Wapping
And *ladies* from Blowbladder-row—Row.
And *ladies* from Blowbladder-row."

Mr. Barham records very little of Hook's doings on the stage, whither his constitutional predilections and early associations led him for a while; but a more faithful, yet at the same time a more ludicrous picture of the miseries and mortifications incident to a play actor, was never penned than a letter of advice given in the John Bull many years after his own connection with the drama had ceased.

The name of Theodore Hook became, however, most notorious, even at this early period of his career, for his performances off the stage; for that series of practical jokes or hoaxes, of which his biographer remarks, that inexcusable as they must be considered, they were so inexpressibly ludicrous in effect, as well as original in conception, and were carried out with so unparalleled a degree of impudence, as to provoke the dullest of mortals to mirth. This is saying very little for them. Many of these hoaxes were far from original in conception, although often much so in the manner they were carried out; and the sense of humour which they excite is as frequently mingled with a feeling of commiseration for the man who would so expose himself. Most of the more amusing instances of Hook's practical joking have been detailed, and with but slight embellishment, in "Gilbert Gurney," which is indeed little more than a record of his own mad doings loose thoughts and feelings. Others have appeared in the very entertaining "Reminiscences of the late Mr. Mathews," by his widow, and a few have been recently printed in the 'Life of Thomas Ingoldsby."

That an occurrence similar in the principal torture and involving equal impudence, though less of humour, than the well-known projection of the line of the Paddington Canal across a gentleman's lawn, and the subsequent dinner did take place, the biographer tells us, is undoubtedly true, only that the *venue* is to be laid in the neighbourhood of Soho Square, Firth Street, or Dean Street, both at that period places of comparatively fashionable residence.

"Lounging up one of those streets in the afternoon, with Terry the actor, the nostrils of the promenades were suddenly saluted with a concord of sweet odors arising from a spacious era. They stopped, snuffed the grateful incense, and peeping down, perceived through the kitchen window preparations for a handsome dinner, evidently on the point of being served.

"'What a feast!' said Terry, 'Jolly dogs! I should like to make one of them.'

"'I'll take any bet,' returned Hook, 'that I *do*—call for me here at ten o'clock, and you will find that I shall be able to give a tolerable account of the worthy gentleman's champagne and venison. So saying, he marched up the steps gave an authoritative rap with the knocker, and was quickly lost to the sight of his astonished companion. As a matter of course he was immediately ushered by the servant as an expected guest, into the drawing-room, where a large party had already assembled. The apartment being well-nigh full, no notice was at first taken of his intrusion, and half a dozen people were laughing at his *bon-mots*, before the host discovered the mistake. Affecting not to observe the visible embarrassment of the latter, and ingeniously avoiding any opportunity for explanation, Hook rattled on till he had attracted the greater part of the company in a circle round him and some considerable time elapsed ere the old gentleman was able to catch the attention of the agreeable stranger.

"'I beg your pardon, sir,' he said, contriving at last to get in a word; 'but your name, sir—I did not quite catch it—servants are so abominably incorrect—and I am really a little at a loss—

"'Dont apologize, I beg,' graciously replied Theodore; 'Smith,—my name is Smith—and, as you justly observe, servants are always making some stupid blunder or another. I remember a remarkable instance, &c.

"'But really, my dear sir,' continued the host, at the termination of the story illustrative of stupidity in servants; 'I think the mistake on the present occasion does not originate in the source you allude to; I certainly did not anticipate the pleasure of Mr. Smith's company at dinner to-day.

"'No I dare say not—you said four in your note, I know, and it is now, I see a quarter past five—you are a little fast by the way; but the fact is, I have been detained in the city—as I was about to explain when—'

"'Pray,' exclaimed the other as soon as he could stay the volubility of his guest, 'whom may I ask you do you suppose you are addressing?

"'Whom? Why Mr. Thompson, of course—old friend of my father. I have not the pleasure indeed, of being personally known to you, but having received your kind invitation yesterday, on my arrival from Liverpool, Frith street—four o'clock—Family party—come in boots—you see I have taken you at your word. I am only afraid I have kept you waiting.'

"'No, no, not at all. But permit me to observe, my dear sir, my name is not exactly Thompson, it is Jones, and—'

"'Jones!' repeated the *sor-disant* Smith, in admirably assumed consternation;' Jones—why surely I cannot have—yes, I must—good heaven! I see it all! My dear sir, what an unfortunate blunder—wrong house—what must you think of such an intrusion! I am really at a loss for words in which to apologise—you will permit me to retire at present, and to-morrow—'

"'Pray don't think of retiring,' exclaimed the hospitable old gentleman, 'your friend's table must have been cleared long ago, if as you say four was the hour named, and I am only too happy to be able to offer you a seat at mine.'

"'Hook, of course, could not hear of such a thing—could not think of trespassing upon the kindness of a perfect stranger; if too late for Thompson, there were plenty of chop-houses at hand; the unfortunate part of the business was, he had made an appointment with a gentleman to call at ten o'clock. The good-natured Jones however, positively refused to allow so entertaining a visitor to withdraw dinnerless, Mrs. Jones joined in solicitations, the Misses Jones bewitchingly and at last Mr. Smith, who soon recovered from his confusion, was prevailed upon to offer his arm to one of the ladies, and take his place at the 'well-furnished board.'

"'In all probability, the family of Jones never passed such an evening before. Hook naturally exerted himself to the utmost to keep the party in an unceasing roar of laughter, and make good the first impression. The mirth grew fast and furious when, by way of a *coup de grace*, he seated himself at the piano-forte, and struck off into one of those extemporaneous effusion which had filled more critical judges than the Joneses with delight and astonishment. Ten o'clock struck, and on Mr. Terry being announced, his triumphant friend wound up the performance with the explanatory stanza:

"'I am very much pleased with your fare,
Your cellar's as prime as your cook;
My friend's Mr. Terry, the player,
And I'm Mr. Theodore Hook!'"

That there was love of notoriety, as well as of fun and a little commendable ambition, in these displays, may be shown from another case of a slightly different character. Accompanied by a friend in the Treasury, who had provided a gig, drawn by a white horse, Hook made what he used to call a "mononag" excursion into Wales, of some weeks' duration.

"Every thing passed off pleasantly enough; fine weather—magnificent scenery—a stream to be whipped one day, a mountain to be climbed the next—mine to be explored at one spot, a Druid temple to be traced at another. Castles, cataracts, and coal mines, all inviting inspection!" "'Ah!' said Hook, as they lounged along one bright morning, 'this is all very well in its way; very delightful, of course—plenty to look at—but then, somehow, nobody looks at us—the thing is getting a little dull, don't you think so?'"

"His companion assented. 'Well, we can't go on in this manner,' continued the other; 'I must hit upon something, and get up a *digito monstrari* somehow or other.'

"And at the next town from which they started, his friend had a quality of his taste in that line, for having procured a box of large black wafers, he had completely spotted the snowy coat of the animal they were driving, after the pattern of those wooden quadru*pegs* which, before the diffusion of useful knowledge, used to form the study of childhood.—The devise fully answered its purpose, and the happy pair drove off, attracting, throughout the remainder of the day, the gaze, wonder, and unqualified admiration of Cadwallader and all his goats."

Neither the gigantic Berner's Street hoax, perpetrated in 1809, nor the trick of calling in a friend to throw a coach or a cab fare on his shoulders, are original conceptions. The first was, perhaps, redeemed from the common-place by the development given to the plot, which included among the dupes the Lord Mayor and the Duke of Gloucester; and in the second, great resoures were exhibited when the friend picked up to pay being as unprepared for any pecuniary transaction as Hook himself, the carriage was made to convey the unhappy pair to the house of a medical man, to whose charge the coach was ultimately committed upon an imaginary professional case.

Successful beyond his most sanguine expectations as a dramatist, and with actors at hand, and those his personal friends, both qualified and ready to embody his ideas, Hook, when barely twenty-one, took into his head to give up writing for the stage, and commenced novelist; his first essay, "The Man of Sorrow," meeting, however, with but trifling success—a failure which was more than compensated for by the popularity of his subsequent works.—Hook's life was, as modern society is constituted, remarkably chequered; at the same time that he exchanged dramatic composition for writing novels, he appears also to have quitted the green-room for the discreet halls of St. Mary's Oxford: with what success may be easily imagined. The very ceremony of his matriculation was, as recorded in the "Ingoldsby Memoirs," well nigh stopped *in limine*.—When the vice-chancellor asked the candidate if he was prepared to subscribe to the Thirty-nine Articles? "Oh, certainly, sir," replied Theodore, "forty, if you please."

It appears, also, from his biographer's account, that the very evening of his arrival at the university he began a course of carousing.

"On the evening of his arrival at the university," says our friend, "he contrived to give his brother the slip, and joined a party of old school-fellows in a carouse at one of the taverns. Sundry bowls of 'Bishop,' and of a popular compond yclept 'Egg-flip'—the Cambridge men call it 'Silky to the *non-dem graduati* of Oxford it is known by a *nomen accidentale*, which we have forgotten—having been discussed, songs, amatory and bacchanalian, having been sung with full chorusses; and altogether the jocularity having begun to pass the 'limit of becoming mirth,' the proctor made his appearance, and advancing to the table at which the 'Freshman'—so in every sense of the word—was presiding, put the usual question:

"'Pray sir are you a member of this University?'

"'No, sir, replied Hook, rising and bowing respectfully. 'Pray, sir, who are you?'

"A little disconcerted at the extreme gravity of the other, the proctor held out his ample sleeve—"You see this, sir?"

"'Ah,' returned Hook, having examined the fabric with great earnestness for a few seconds, "yes, I perceive—Manchester velvet—and may I take the liberty, sir, of inquiring how much you might have paid per yard for the article?'

"The quiet imperturbability of manner with which this was uttered was more than the reverend gentleman could stand; and, muttering something about "supposing it was a mistake," he effected a retreat, with shouts of laughter from Hook's companions, in which the other occupants of the coffee-room, the waiters, and even his own 'bull-dogs,' were constrained to join."

A youth of Theodore Hook's free and easy disposition, utterly unaccustomed to any kind or measure of restraint, and the companion of wits and "men about town," was not likely to become a very tractable son of Alma Mater; and after a residence of one, or at most a couple of terms, "an unlooked-for turn in his affairs" enabled him to quit Oxford, if with no great accession of honour or wisdom, at least without censure.

These are the words of his biographer; there is the same indefinitenees here as we observe in the Ingoldsby memoirs, "one, or at most a couple of terms?" and as to "the unlooked-for turn in affairs," we are not told what that turn was, unless we are to consider as such his introduction, "after a very slight probation, into the order of fashion," and his election as a member of the "Eccentrics," on the same memorable night with Sheridan, Lord Petersham, and others. An intimacy with lords, and dukes, and noble princes, mainly brought about by Hook's exquisite musical taste, and extending itself to the person of the Price Regent, also embraced a person much spoken of in the Ingoldsby memoirs—the Rev. Edward Cannon, no less celebrated for his wit and eccentricity than for his frailty and sad history. Between two such similar spirits a close intimacy established itself, but the favour of royalty was soon sacrificed by the latter's freedom of speech, which little cared for suavity to princes or their favourites. On being requested to give his opinions of an upright piano forte, an instrument then but recently invented, he ran his hand, light as a lady's, over the keys, and threw himself back with a dissatisfied air.

"What do you think of it, Mr. Cannon?" asked Mrs. Fitzherbert.

"Why, madam, it may do to lock up your bread and cheese in, and that's all it's fit for," was the reply.

"We are tempted to give one more anecdote of this extraordinary being, especially as the subject of our memoir was himself one of the parties therein concerned. They both had been dining with the late Mr. Stephen Price, the manager of Drury Lane Theatre, and as the host showed the unequivocal symptoms of indisposition—he was suffering severely from gout in the hand—the party broke up early; and all but Cannon and Hook took their leave by about eleven o'clock. Upon them every possible hint short of absolute rudeness was expended in vain; a small table had been wheeled up close to the fire, amply furnished with potations, such as they loved, and they were not to be wiled away.—At length, unable to endure the increasing pain, Price, quietly summoned up an inexhaustible supply of "black spirits and white," and leaving his guests to mingle as they might, stole off unobserved to bed. Next morning, about nine, his servant entered his room.

"'Well sir' said Price, on awaking, 'pray at what time did those two gentlemen go last night?'

"'Go, sir?' repeated the man.

"I asked ye, sir, at what time did Mr. Hook and Mr. Cannon go?'

"'Oh, they are not gone yet, sir,' replied John; 'they've just rung for coffee!"

There are redeeming traits in Cannon's character, lively genorosity and pre-eminent disinteresedness, which it is to be hoped will survive his errors.

Spite of his talents and conversational powers Hook was unfortunate in his *affaires de cœur*, the first of which his biographer places on record as having occurred during a brief sojourn at Sunbury. While at this place, the name of the inn, "The Flower Pot," suggested to Hook one of his practical jokes; the termination of which not being upon record, leaves it questionable if it was of a character to redound to the credit of the chief actor therein.

In 1812, Hook was, his biographer hints, through the influence of "the fair of May Fair," presented with the appointment of accountant-general, and treasurer at the Mauritius, worth about £2,000 a year. Neither, however, the heat of the climate nor the duties and responsibilities of his situation could calm the characteristic exuberance of his spirits. On the occasion of a public dinner, the new accountant-general amused himself, and frightened the island out of its propriety, by firing salutes to the honour of every person present, soldier or civilian, including even cook and scullion. Such perseverance in one particular line did not ensure success in another, and the treasury accounts soon partook of that confusion which generally reigned where Hook was concerned. Upon this unfortunate subject his biographer has added little to what has already appeared in the pages of the *Quarterly*, (vol. lxxiii, and from which it has been now long and generally understood, that whatever errors there were upon the part of Theodore, they were not of a venial character, being simply errors of omission, of oversight and neglect.

Hook, it may be observed, without being of a remarkably superstitious turn of mind, was yet not prepared to discredit spiritual, or, as some foolishly call them, supernatural existences.

"Philosophers," he says, "in a preface to "Martha the Gypsey," "may prove, and, in the might of their ignorance, develop and disclose, argue and discuss, but when the sage who sneers at the possibility of ghosts will explain to me the doctrine of attraction and gravitation, or tell me why the wind blows, why the tides ebb and flow, or why the light shines—effects perceptible by all men—then I will admit the justice of this incredulity—then I will join the ranks of the incredulous."

A case is related as having fallen more immediately under Hook's observation, which appears to be the counterpart of that related in Leigh Hunt's "Town," as connected With Lord Craven's house. Hook was, however, decidedly superstitious upon some points. He always gravely maintained, that his miseries, consequent upon the Mauritius deficit, were foreshadowed to him in the course of his voyage homeward, by a visitation from the original "Flying Dutchman." He had also a marked dislike to being the thirteenth in company. One of his friends, who was himself suspected of leaning the same way, notes in the following words an instance of this weakness:

"Dined at ——; we were seated twelve in number when Hook arrived. He looked at first very black on finding himself the thirteenth, but being told that Y——, the actor, was expected, immediately took his seat, and the evening passed off merrily enough. An anecdote was given in the course of conversation singularly corroborative of the superstition by which Hook was clearly at first affected. A party of twelve had just sat down, and one of the guests having observed a vacant chair, was remarking that he should hardly like to be the person destined to occupy that seat, when a tremendous double rap was heard—the door was thrown open, and *Mr. Fauntleroy** announced—he was hanged within the year!

Hook returned to England, harassed by difficulties and pecuniary embarrassments. After a short residence at Somer's-Town, where he formed that connection which, with his warm heart and honourable feelings, he could never dissolve, although he had never sufficient courage to render it sacred and indissoluble, and many months of durance vile, he took up his abode at Putney, and started, with the assistance of his old friend Daniel Terry, a small periodical, called "The Arcadian,' but which had little either pastoral in its name, or durable in its composition. A more important event in Hook's life was the establishment of the *John Bull* newspaper, at the close of 1820. It is to the permanent preservation of the best thing contributed to this paper, that the second volume of the "Life and Remains" is devoted. Four years after his connection with the John Bull, Hook published the first series of that collection of tales which under the title of "Sayings and Doings," placed him at once in the highest rank of novelists. This was followed, in 1830, by "Maxwell," generally considered as the most perfect of his productions; but of all his works, the most mirth-provoking was "Gilbert Gurney," of which his own personal adventures form the groundwork, and which was published by monthly instalments in the New Monthly Magazine, upon his undertaking the editorship of that long-established favourite in 1836. Hook deprecated the practice, now all but universal among popular novelists, of delivering his tale by monthly instalments. One of his last letters, addressed to Mr. Poole, a fellow contributor to the pages of the New Monthly, was in deprecation of the plan, as not only wearisome to the reader, but positively fatal to anything like fair development of plot. "Jack Bragg" followed, a sequel to "Gilbert Gurney," and a portrait of a vulgar, vain, and impudent cross between a tallow chandler and a sporting gentleman, met with great success. Lastly, "Births, Marriages and Deaths," published in 1839, was followed, in 1840, by "Precepts and Practice," a collection of short papers and tales, which he had contributed to the New Monthly during his editorship. Two other words, "Fathers and Sons," and "Peregrine Bunce," were never finished by their original author.

The success of his novels enabled Theodore Hook to start once more in the world. He rented an expensive house, furnished it extravagantly; sought the most fashionable and dissipated society, kept open table and late hours, and had very soon to beat a retreat once more to the friendly banks of the Thames, where, in a pretty villa near Fulham Bridge, he ultimately breathed his last; his end, hastened by a career which never spared or husbanded either physical or mental resources, but on the contrary treated them as gifts only to be valued for their brilliancy, and the strain they may be capable of enduring, entailing thereby the consequent and inevitable result of a premature extinction.

The production of thirty-eight volumes in sixteen years—the author being all the while editor, and almost sole writer, of a newspaper, and for several years the efficient conductor of a magazine—certainly affords, as the *Quarterly Review* remarks, sufficient proof that he never sank into idleness. In all his works, Hook paid little regard to consecutiveness, or regularity, or even to style. He aimed at delineation of character—at striking and ludicrous scenes, and situations—at reflecting the language and habits of actual life—and all this he accomplished in some of his works, with a success that produced many rivals, but few superiors. Yet with all these successes, and although in receipt of a large income—probably not less than £3,000 a year by his writings—passages in those parts of his diary which have been published disclose frequent struggles, ever-deepening distresses and difficulties, which, while they are often inexpressibly touching, ought not to be without their lesson.

* Another story was at the same time told in connection with this unfortunate gentlemen. A Mr. R——, a wine merchant, was very intimate with Fauntleroy, and with a few friends was in the habit of dining with him frequently. On these occasions, when the party was not too large, the host would produce some very choice old Lunelle wine, of which R—— was exceedingly fond, but Fauntleroy could never be prevailed upon to say where he got it, or how it could be obtained. When the latter was under sentence of death, his old associates visited him repeatedly and at their last interview, the night before his execution, R——, after having bid him farewell with the rest, on a sudden paused in the prison passage, returned to the cell, and said in a low voice to the criminal—"You'll pardon my pressing the subject, but now, at all events, my dear friend, you can have no objection to tell me where I can get some of that Lunelle."

AMERICANISMS.

[From an article entitled "Idioms and Provincialisms of the English Language" in the American Review.]

The origin and perpetuity of many of our queer and out-of-the-way phrases, may be traced to the semi annual meetings of gentlemen of the bar at the courts of our Southern and Western States.

These gentlemen, living as they do in the thinly inhabited portion of our land, and among a class of persons generally very far their inferiors in point of education, rarely enjoying anything that may deserve the name of intellectual society, are too apt to seek for amusement in listening to the drool stories and odd things always to be heard at the country store or bar-room. Every new expression and queer tale is treasured up, and new ones manufactured against the happy time when they shall meet their *brothers-in-law* at the approaching term of the district court.

If ever pure fun, broad humour, and "Laughter holding both his sides," reign supreme, it is during the evening of these sessions. Each one empties and distributes his well-filled budget of wit and oddities, receiving ample payment in like coin, which he pouches, to again disseminate at his earliest opportunity.

Although we may lay down as a general rule, that the same words and phrases prevail through the South and West, yet almost every State has its local peculiarities; Texas, for instance, the large admixture of Spanish words; Louisiana, of French; Georgia and Alabama borrow many from the Indians. North Carolina is notorious for a peculiar flatness of pronunciation in such words as *crap* for "crop," *carn* for "corn," *peert* for "pert," &c. "*I allow*," meaning "I think," "I consider," is, we believe, of Alabama origin, and so is that funny expression, "*done gone*," "*done done*," implying "already gone," and "already done." In Virginia, many of the lower class pronounce *th* as *d*—*dat* for "that," *dar* for there," *dis* for "this."

These and other similar derelictions may be traced to the fact that all children are inclined to make companions of the negroes, listen to queer rambling tales, accompany them upon their "coon hunts," &c. and thus acquire a negro style of pronunciation, and many negro words that nothing, save a good education, can eradicate, and even that does not always perfectly succeed.

There are two great and distinct classes in the United States, the Yankee and the Virginian; the former occupying the New England States, and thence spreading in almost every direction, claiming a great portion of the State of Ohio, and even a share of Indiana and Illinois, although in these two last mentioned States the southern peculiarities of speech are more common; the latter properly commencing at that imaginary division, "Mason and Dixon's line," and thence running "south and west." The intermediate States are divided between the two. Although New York, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey, have been well inoculated with a solid basis of Dutch and Swedish in their infancy, yet save here and there some stray neighbourhood of ancient Hollanders or sturdy Swedes, whose manners, customs, and language, our intrusive Yankees have been unable to corrupt, a few terms and phrases that have crept into general usage alone give token that a foreign tongue once reigned over so large a section of our land.

The distinction between these two great classes (the Yankee and the Virginian) is so wide and so clearly drawn, as to be visible and palpable to every casual observer. Should one, however, ever hesitate as to the place of nativity of one of our free and enlightened citizens, there exists a test, which, potent as the spear of Ithuriel, will dispel all clouds of doubt that may overshadow his mind. Let the person in question be requested to give an opinion upon any subject. Should he *guess*, write him down a Yankee; does he *reckon*, you may swear him a Southron. The Yankee *guesses*, the Southern *reckons*, which our New England friend never does, except by and with the aid, assistance, and advice, of that estimable arithmetician and pedagogue, Nathan Daboll, Esq. Per contra, however, the Yankee *calculates*, and pretty shrewedly also, while the Southron *allows*. The one *wouldn't wonder* if some expected event should take place, while the other, more ardent and careless of assertion, "*goes his death upon it*" that it will. To the latter, drawing his comparison from his idolised rifle, a thing is "*as sure as* shooting," while to the former, more pious or more hypocritical, it is "*as sartin as preachin'*." The one will be "*darned*," and the other "*derned*," both evading an oath in nearly the same manner, the only difference being the substitution of one vowel for another. Should this asseveration require additional force, the Northern man will be "*gaul darned*," and the Southron "*dod derned*,"—a curious perversion of sacred names to ease the conscience while giving vent to one's temper. In fact, it is almost impossible, among the many corruptions of language of which both are guilty, to cite an expression in which some slight but marked difference does not exist.

To the Northern man, every silicious mass is a *stone*, be it large enough to weigh a ton, while the Southern ignores the word *in toto*, and calls everything of that description a *rock*, though no larger than a midge's wing. The application of this word is extremely ludicrous, to one whose ears are unaccustomed to it, and we remember laughing heartily at the idea of picking up a *rock* to throw at a *bird*. When man or boy, biped or quadruped, bird or beast, is pelted, the unfortunate recipient of projectile favours is said to be *rocked*, unless indeed wood be put in requisition, and then he is said to be *chunked*.

In Arkansas, however, the term *denoch* usurps the place of either rock or stone. That touching and popular Southern ballad, yclept "Rosin the bow," concludes in these pathetic words:

"Then fetch me a couple of *donochs*,
Place one at my head and my *toe*,*
And do not forget to write on it †
The name of old Rosin the bow."

No shadow of doubt can possibly remain in the mind of any unprejudiced person, but that the sovereign State of Arkansas may lay just and true claim to the honour of giving birth to the interesting individual in question.

The further South you travel, the more rude, wild, and energetic, the language you will hear. Our newly acquired State of Texas excels all others in additions and corruptions. The old Texan has no farm, it is a *ranche*. A rope he knows not;

* He seems to have been singularly provided for in this respect.
† Quere on the *toe*?

From the New York Organ quotes the following account of a visit to Sir John and Lady Franklin, by Jane Porter, which cannot fail to be read with peculiar interest at this time. Sir John Franklin, it will be remembered, sailed on a polar expedition in 1846, and nothing has since been heard from him; his wife, it is stated in the English papers, is visiting the various sea-ports, endeavouring to interest the outward-bound whalemen in a search for the missing adventurers. She had previously offered a large reward for any information respecting them:

A liveried servant ushered us into a drawing-room, carpeted, sofaed, with all the other elegant fittings-up which belong to refined and comfortable life. The walls were hung with fine drawings; England portrayed in miniature; landscapes, rural or romantic; the interior of cathedrals, and village churches; historical and domestic scenery. But the most attractive picture of the whole was the living one which presented itself immediately on our entrance; a gentleman, of peculiarly amiable and manly appearance, sat on a sofa, playing with an infant child; he was tossing the babe, and looking up to its little sparkling countenance and crowing lips, while he held it above him, with all a father's fondness in his eyes and smile. Near him, on a low chair, close to a small table—on which a quantity of unfurled silk lay heaped, sat a delicately-formed lady, young, and aspen-like, evidently from enfeebled health, as well as delicacy of form; she also, at the moment we entered, was looking smilingly towards the gentleman and child; her fingers paused meanwhile, upon some breadths of the heaps of silks—blue, red and white—which she seemed sewing together. Her eyes told it was her husband and babe she gazed upon; and they also told it was with some mournful idea connected with the pleasure; for, when she turned round at our entrance, for brightness in them was that of a brimming tear, and her voice faltered to the salutation of my friend, while she rose. The gentleman put the infant tenderly into her arms, (for she as instantly resumed her seat,) and he shaking Sir Charles he